Daily Report

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Bulgaria

Sofia radio cites the German cable station RTL reporting that Iran has acquired nuclear warheads stolen from CIS storage facilities in the Caucasus by former USSR military officers. These "four nuclear artillery shells" are reported now to be located at Varna port in containers marked "*tracters*." The Sofia radio correspondent in Varna, in an attempt to verify this information and the location of the warheads, reports that "no Bulgarian vessel... was involved in the transportation of nuclear warheads." He says the investigation will continue to determine whether any foreign vessels at Varna are carrying the nuclear cargo "but there is nothing in their documents" to indicate that they are carrying "cargo for Iran."

Romania

In response to events on the Left Bank of the Dnester River in Moldova, the government expressed it "profound concern" over the military posturing of "Russian Cossacks" who have "crossed the Ukraine" "armed with great amounts of modern weapons from the arsenals of the former Soviet Army," Bucharest radio reports. The government calls on "all politicians" from the former Soviet republics of Moldova, the Russian Federation, and the Ukraine to disarm the "mercenary gangs" and make a concerted effort to end the "violence and terror against civilians." President Ion Iliescu spoke with Moldovan President Mircea Snegur by telephone to express his concern, stating that these "actions and their escalation are very dangerous and risk becoming a source of destabilization not only for the Republic of Moldova."

Poland

In an interview on Radio Zet Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said that President Lech Walesa will meet with various political leaders in an effort to come to an agreement on broadening the government coalition, PAP reports. Drzycimski also stated that Walesa "did not rule out" "taking over" the prime ministership as a "young democracy sometimes approaches the verge of anarchy." He also pointed out that "social approval" is needed for a "democratically elaborated program" and that "an executive dictatorship" may be necessary to allow the government "a chance to implement the program."

Democratic Union (UD) Chairman Tadeusz Mazowiecki held separate meetings with Prime Minister Jan Olszewski and President Lech Walesa to brief them on the UD's official stance on expanding the government coalition. Mazowiecki said that his talks with the prime minister were to establish the groundwork for future negotiations among the parties and he asked that "staff changes that are of political significance" be suspended during this process, Warsaw TV reports. He also reportedly affirmed the UD's position that the Liberal Democratic Congress should participate in a new coalition. In a meeting with Walesa, the presidential spokesman said that the president foresees the coalition widening "in several stages," by broadening the government's composition first and then widening the government's base in parliament, Warsaw radio reports.

Kazakh Nuclear Warheads Cargo in Varna Denied

AU1703110192 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Excerpts] The German magazine STERN report that Iran has acquired two nuclear warheads from Kazakhstan was picked up by many other mass media and produced many additional sensational reports. [passage omitted]

This morning RTL [German cable station] *Good Morning* program reported that its editors have information that Iran has acquired nuclear warheads, and that officers of the former USSR are trying to sell Iran four nuclear artillery shells, stolen from storage facilities of the Commonwealth of Independent States in the Caucasus. The price of the nuclear warheads on the black market is $10 million per unit. The RTL report also points out that the dangerous cargo, the nuclear warheads, was heading from the Caucasus to Iran through Bulgaria, and that the nuclear warheads apparently are now at Varna port in four containers marked *tractors*. A fifth container contains highly sensitive electronic equipment, also intended for Iran.

That information is quoted from RTL *Good Morning* program. No other details were given, though the RTL announcer said that his information was supplied by the German intelligence service. The RTL television station did not add information as to what nationality or what kind of vessel was involved.

Russian Ambassador to Germany Vladislav Terekhov was invited to participate in the program. He said that the allegations had not been proved, and added that all tip-offs will be investigated by the competent authorities in Russia. The ambassador stressed that there are no nuclear weapons in Armenia or Azerbaijan. In the summer of 1990 the weapons deployed there were withdrawn, the ambassador said.

Through our correspondent in Varna, Georgi Sveshtnikov, we tried to investigate the RTL report about the containers marked *tractors*, which at present are ostensibly in Varna, or have been there. Within two to three hours, with the assistance of experts and specialists, our reporter found out the following:

No Bulgarian vessel, I repeat, Bulgarian vessel was involved in the transportation of nuclear warheads. There can be no question about this. There is only one Bulgarian vessel, *Veslets*, that was in the Caucasus region on 5 March, and it sailed for the Greek port of Volos, and from there to the Israeli port of Ashdod. Our reporter said that since 5 March no foreign or Bulgarian vessel with a cargo for Iran has docked in Varna. Thus, apparently a mistake has been made. This is also the opinion of the Ministry of Internal Affairs regional directorate which also investigated the case.

Of course, I can assure you that the investigation will continue, because there are many foreign vessels at Varna port, but there is nothing in their documents about a cargo for Iran. I assume that after the RTL report there will be a more thorough investigation. If there is anything new, we will be the first to tell you.

Ludzhev Sees 'Turning Point' in Ties With Turkey

AU1303160992 Sofia BTA in English 1533 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—Coming back from his four-day official visit to Turkey, today Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev, minister of defense, said that the meetings and talks the Bulgarian delegation had with Turkish state and military leaders marked a turning point in Bulgaria's cooperation with its southern neighbour.

The fact that Bulgaria's minister of defense visited Turkey for the first time since 1917, i.e. after 75 years, and with a military delegation at that is indicative in itself, Mr. Ludzhev said. We got convinced that the atmosphere is completely different from that prevailing two years ago, tensions have been obviously relieved and now the Turkish side is ready to maintain direct and open relations, he added.

The defense minister pointed out that most officers of the Turkish Armed Forces believe that now Bulgaria is their best partner not only because the situation in the country is calm and peaceful but because of the Bulgarian Government's efforts to dispel the myth of a military threat from the south. In this connection Mr. Ludzhev noted that "the enemy's image" propagated some time ago was like poison that cut the Balkans into two.

Minister Ludzhev described as extremely useful his talks with Turkey's President Turgut Ozal, Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel and with the leaderships of the Defense and Foreign Affairs Ministries and of the General Staff. He informed that he had presented Bulgaria's project for a general military cooperation treaty and that views had been exchanged with his Turkish partners on the military doctrines of the two countries.

Turkish Envoy Refuses To Accept Protest Note

AU1603202492 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Sofia, March 16 (BTA)—Mr. Valentin Dobrev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, today delivered a note by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Mr. Yalcin Oral, Turkish ambassador to Bulgaria, protesting against the persistent gross violations of the Bulgarian territorial sea by Turkish vessels and against the inaction of the Turkish border authorities. The Turkish ambassador did not accept the note.

The growing number of such violations despite Bulgaria's official reactions (including one on January 31 and on March 12 this year) creates tension in the area of the sea border and led to the incident on March 13 this

year in which a Bulgarian border guard, Yancho Bletsov, was killed, it is said in the note. The note expresses regret and concern that over the last few months Turkey has repeatedly violated the 1988 agreement according to which "the two countries should refrain from unilateral action in order to avoid undesirable incidents in the territorial sea."

It is stressed that such developments are hardly conducive to the creation of a favourable climate for the preliminary bilateral talks on the delimitation of the Black Sea border. In the future the Turkish side alone will bear the responsibility for the consequences of such violations of the Bulgarian state border, it is said at the end of the note.

Ganev on Possibility of Recognizing Macedonia

AU1303183392 Sofia BTA in English 1518 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—Today the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, was asked in parliament when Bulgaria would establish diplomatic relations with Macedonia. "We consider the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Macedonia in the context of our willingness to find the best settlement of the problem within the EC," he answered.

Mr. Ganev elaborated on Bulgaria's efforts to follow a foreign policy which is in harmony with the ends of European and world security. The peaceful settlement of the conflict in Yugoslavia is part of this policy. "We shall choose the opportune moment from the point of view of Bulgaria's national interests to establish diplomatic relations with Macedonia," he explained. He expressed hope that that will take place in the near future. Mr. Ganev denied the rumours that Bulgaria would undertake to represent Macedonia's diplomatic interests. "Bulgaria is neither authorized, nor would undertake to represent sovereign states like Macedonia," he pointed out.

Kostov Assesses IMF Talks, Assistance Prospects

AU1403194492 Sofia BTA in English 1919 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] Sofia, March 14 (BTA)—The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund will back Bulgaria at the forthcoming negotiations with the commercial banks later in March. According to Finance Minister Ivan Kostov, this is the most important result of his visit to the United States.

"We discussed three aspects of our relations with the World Bank and the IMF," Mr. Kostov said upon his return from Washington this evening. "First we had to specify the parameters of our commitments to meet the requirements for the release of the second tranche of the structural adjustment loan, as well as under the memorandum on economic policy. We discussed the viability of our medium-term strategy and our projections about the balance of payments and the country's economy.

"Second, we discussed the support we can expect from the IMF and the World Bank at the forthcoming negotiations. We expect technical assistance in specifying the parameters of the macroeconomic prospects of the balance of payments and of the basic principles of our financial proposal. Both the IMF and the World Bank will make a tentative list of the support they will give to an agreement on the repurchase of Bulgaria's debt.

"Third, we discussed the future of Bulgaria's relations with the IMF and the World Bank. A three-year extended agreement with the IMF should be worked out by the autumn of 1992 at the latest. As to the World Bank, the bank advisory committee of Bulgaria's creditor banks will meet in late April. At the meeting Bulgaria will put forth an economic survey and viable projects for investment in it."

Mr. Kostov said he was pleased with his meetings with businessmen, with whom he discussed concrete opportunities for attracting American investment to Bulgaria. Mr. Kostov believes that Bulgaria will witness a quick influx of American capital.

Mr. Kostov described the article in "DIE PRESSE" of Vienna about a blockade of world bank credits for Bulgaria as an attempt at misinformation. He believes it was a provocation prompted by Bulgarian journalists. Both the World Bank and the IMF administrations confirmed that the press had not made previous enquiries on the issue. Mr. Kostov said in the Panorama TV news round-up that the World Bank and the IMF have expressed concern over the delay in the passage of the privatization act.

Government Tightens Nuclear Export Controls

AU1603213692 Sofia BTA in English 2056 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Terxt] Sofia, March 16 (BTA)—At its session held late this evening the government adopted a resolution approving the measures for strengthening control over the export of nuclear materials, equipment and technologies of dual use proposed by the working group of the states which are the main exporters in this field.

The government also discussed foreign political issues. It adopted a draft resolution for the ratification of the Treaty for Friendship, Cooperation and Goodneighborliness with Romania. It also approved an agreement on promoting trade, economic, industrial and technological cooperation with Israel as well as Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev's proposals for an agreement on cooperation in the field of education, science and culture with Ukraine and for promoting relations with the former Soviet republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrghyzstan and Turkmenistan. It remains for the Ministry of Finance to solve the problem of providing the necessary funds for opening Bulgarian representations in these republics.

Havel Comments on Post-Election Scenario

LD1503172992 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by station editor Stanislava Dufkova on 13 March; date not given: "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Dufkova] Every day we are being flooded with reports that do not bring much joy to us. This morning it was a report about yet another Czechoslovak flag burned in Bratislava. It was burned yesterday, supposedly as a protest against continuing Czech domination in Slovakia.

[Havel] I dislike public burning acts out of principle. Moreover, burning the symbol of our own state is especially regretful. It is an act suggesting that people are burning a part of their own being, it is as if they are burning a piece of their own history, a piece of their own life, a piece of their own identity. It is a fundamental demonstration of their disloyal attitude toward the state. If the reality was that the Czechs occupied Slovakia and denied Slovak people the opportunity to implement their right to self-determination, if there were some constitutional obstacles barring the Slovak Republic from becoming independent, if we were a totalitarian state occupying or surpressing a nation, then I could perhaps find some understanding for this demonstration of desperate protest. But given our conditions, I have no understanding for it.

[Dufkova] Although constitutional talks should have made some headway this week, they have evidently gotten stuck. It is likely that Dagmar Buresova and Frantisek Miklosko informed you about it. You yourself said that a period should be placed after all these talks. Is it possible to place such a period and if so, what should it be like?

[Havel] I, of course, do not know and it is not up to me to decide about it. However, my sense of order tells me that we cannot just tacitly abandon this topic and pretend that nothing has happened. Our three parliaments were elected from the parties and the policies of the majority of these parties said that in this two-year transition period we would resolve the basic issues of our constitutional set up and create a new constitution. Everything indicates that these parliaments failed to fulfill this fundamental task. I feel that they should not keep silent about this fact, to abandon, as a child would, the problem and pretend it does not exist.

I think that it would be very appropriate if in the conclusion of their term all our three parliaments evaluated, from their own viewpoint and perspective, the process of all the constitutional talks so far, if they concluded it and carried out some kind of reflection, explained all that has been achieved and all the points on which the partners were able to agree or disagree. They should try to make some kind of an analysis of the reasons why they failed to agree on some issues and try to evaluate all of this, so that they will leave behind some kind of a report for a future new parliament, which will have to continue this started but unfinished work. They should try to make an index of their achievements and failures. It should be both an analysis and a resume. It simply seems to me that a period should be placed after the first stage of these talks.

The reason for my saying all this is that at the last moment we might still fail to make more headway and and achieve more. But we will not mamage to resolve everything, even though some issues might be resolved. It is absolutely certain that we will not have a new constitution, and so, even in the event that we still manage to achieve something else, I still think that such a summary or a resume would make sense.

[Dufkova] It appears, Mr. President, that nothing at all has been achieved.

[Havel] I would not say that. For example, at the beginning of the talks, the idea of a treaty [smlouva] between the national councils and the republics, which then appeared, did not enjoy general understanding or support. During the protracted talks everyone eventually agreed that the starting point for the Federal Constitution should be a treaty, which would draw up the basic outline of our constitutional system, which would provide a certain definition of a common state, and which would make a decision on how to divide powers between the republics and the federation in the most just way. And the fact that everyone eventually agreed on this point represents some success.

As we know, they failed to agree on who is to be a partner to this treaty, whether it should be the republics or the National Council and there was not full agreement with regard to the legal nature of this treaty. But, as far as the powers are concerned, the agreement on the majority of the points on powers did materialize. There is only a small number of points remaining where agreement has not materialized or which were turned into a problem by a section of the political forces, while other sections accepted them.

Quite a broad consensus has developed on the basic outlines of the future political system, although the well-known three chapters of the constitution defining the relationship between the executive power and the head of state, as well as between the representative body and their structure were not accepted. Nevertheless, they failed to get through by the skin of their teeth since only a few votes were required. And so, it cannot be ruled out that the Federal Assembly will return to it again and try to obtain the necessary majority on this issue.

[Dufkova] Is this optimism that of both a president and of Vaclav Havel?

[Havel] First of all, this is not optimism. This is a realistic description of the situation. And the situation is such, that there is a negligible chance that it could succeed. However, this possibility still cannot be quite

categorically ruled out. This is neither pessimism nor optimism, it is an attempt to describe the situation in realistic terms.

[Dufkova] I would like to point out that we recorded this interview on 13 March, and yesterday, on Thursday, a Slovak politician indicated that Alexander Dubcek is still in a position to play a rather important role in the election and in the future of our state. Do you share this view, Mr. President?

[Havel] In this I totally agree with the politician in question. It has become clear that Mr. Dubcek is not at all just a symbol of the Prague Spring, just the best-known Slovak and generally well-known personality from history who does not have many opportunities to play a role in the present political situation anymore. Personally, this has never been my view. It becomes clear today again that at this time Mr. Dubcek faces several very important decisions in his life. I firmly believe he will make a good and correct decision, as it is my firm conviction that Mr. Dubcek's stands will really play a very important role now.

For me, he now represents one of the—I would say pillars, or one of the guarantees of a good future development, I mean of a search for a just form of our common state. From the point of view of a political balance and balancing various political forces in the Czech lands and in Slovakia it has become clear that his stand and his policies are really going to play an important role.

[Dufkova] Do you not have a feeling, Mr. President, that it is precisely Mr. Dubcek who strengthens the left wing?

[Havel] What is wrong with that? I think that in modern democracies an important role is always played by a balance, a certain equilibrium between social democratic, that is, a bit more left-wing political parties, and more right-wing, more conservative forces. Sometimes a liberal center emerges which maintains the balance. This is the result of decades of political developments in highly-developed democracies. Obviously, this is something tested, something purposeful. This means that every reasonable, constructive-minded man capable of state-forming work who will strengthen either the left wing or the right wing is, of course, welcomed. It is a good thing to have such a person here.

We have plenty of demagogues and oddballs, both on the right and on the left of our political spectrum, and so we have to rejoice when on either of the sides emerges another reasonable man who cares for this state and who is open to consultations, agreements, and dialogue.

[Dufkova] Could you be more specific about whom you are speaking of?

[Havel] I do not think I would be endangering my position of being above the parties if I give you for instance the following totally straightforward answer: The present parliament is being criticized for having many of its sessions turned into a series of exhibitionist speeches by deputies who want to show off. And I am capable of thinking of an even much more exhibitionist parliament. If, for instance on one side of the political spectrum there is Mr. Sladek and on the other side Mr. Svitak our impression of live coverage of the parliament would be even more sad than at present. [passage omitted]

My view is that it would be better if parliament were to be formed by people who are really matter-of-fact thinking and reasonable, who care for this country as a whole. This is a more important thing for me than if their views are orientated more to the right or to the left.

[Dufkova] I suppose I should know, but I must admit that I do not know how many times you have mentioned the Screening Law and your objections to it in these *Conversations*. Also, 99 deputies have objections to the law. If I am not mistaken they have lodged a protest to the Constitutional Court. The whole thing is a bit juicy, involving Mr. Kavan, the van [seized in 1981 border haul of banned literature], whether there were any addresses in the van or not. At the same time the whole thing casts a strange light on the dissent movement, of which you yourself used to be a part as well.

[Havel] First of all, I should say this. The reason why we have established a constitutional court was that in cases of any doubt about the constitutionality of laws the court could study and assess the law once again and make a finding. If one-third of our parliament believes that the parliament has passed a law which breaches international documents that are binding for us, pacts that we had signed, [a law] which breaches several international conventions and even our constitutional charter of fundamental rights and liberties, then they have a full and legitimate right to turn to the Constitutional Court and demand a revision of the law.

If we were to deprive the deputies of this right then we would spit at the very substance of our legal system and the establishment of the constitutional court would be of no use. I do not like it when the whole thing is made into a political issue and when the deputies are attacked for wanting to protect the communists and [secret police] agents and not wanting to settle accounts from the past without anyone even reading the almost 15-page analysis that they sent to the Constitutional Court.

Our political stage and journalism are over-politicized, elements of almost some sort of hysteria surface from time to time. It seems to me that if we want to achieve some political decency then I consider it wrong to attack deputies because they have turned to the Constitutional Court with some problem. Most of the deputies are probably left-wing but I can very well imagine a situation when right-wing deputies turn to the Constitutional Court with some other problem, and I cannot see why they should then be attacked by the left.

I myself have had some doubts about the Screening Law, as have many international organizations and figures. A

definitive verdict that would be binding for our parliament must be declared by the Constitutional Court. It will be the first test of independence for the Court itself. It is important that it does not succumb to any pressure, whether it comes from the left, from the right, from the middle, from above, or from below.

[Dufkova] And the Kavan affair, the seized van, dissent?

[Havel] Look, the so-called dissidents—which is a word invented by Western journalists, some sort of label which they used to give to all those in the communist countries who showed public resentment of the totalitarian regime, analyzed it, and criticized it—were always, naturally, in the center of attention of the secret police. [passage omitted] It is only natural that Charter-77 and various other independent organizations were infiltrated by various informers, agents, etc. [passage omitted]

As for the case of Jan Kavan, it is a case complicated to such an extent that I absolutely do not feel justified to assess it and declare a verdict on this issue. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] What do you intend to do in the election period and after the election?

[Havel] [passage omitted] So far I have outlined for myself several fundamental trends of my activities during the election period. As far as high politics are concerned, I would not like to identify myself unequivocally with any party. I would like to play the role of a president standing above the parties, and we have discussed this issue already several times. It is a hard work to create the space for a dialogue, consensus, communication between various political forces.

I intend to hold a great number of political talks with representatives of all the parties as the parties in the election period are in fact going to represent the main political factors given the present electoral law, the present situation in our parliaments. In fact, the parties have become partners with real political prospects in place of the parliaments. [passage omitted]

One line of my activities is to have talks with political parties about the post-election future because it is my duty to be interested in this above all. The second line is the fact that I have to continue to carry out normally the duties of my office. [passage omitted] The third important line of my activities is that I would like to increase my interest in the life of our citizens. [passage omitted]

At the end of my term of office at the last joint session of the Federal Assembly I would like to deliver a report, some sort of reflection on the two-year term, because this is to a certain extent my constitutional duty. [passage omitted] So, providing the Federal Assembly agrees with it, I will deliver some sort of a concluding speech in which I will attempt to assess the entire two-year difficult period, to point out all of those things in which we succeeded, to think about all those things in which we failed and there are many of them, as we all well know.

Subsequently, a very demanding and complicated post-election period will begin. In a way it will be a more difficult period than the election period. As three chapters of the Constitution were not adopted—and it is not probable they are still going to be adopted in time—a situation which is very dangerous from the constitutional point of view will arise. Because of this the issue of electing the president is not clear: According to the present constitutional regulations a new president should be elected in the second half of June, that is in fact at the first joint session of the Federal Assembly.

This will take place when a new government has not been appointed yet, when various coalition talks have not been concluded yet. It is very uncertain—if at least the part of the Constitution which concerns the election of the president is not amended—it is very improbable that a president is going to be elected as he must be elected by secret ballot by a three-fifths majority in all the three parts of the parliament. The Constitution does not outline at all what further course of action is to be taken if he is not elected. The Communist Constitution did not take such natural democratic situations—for instance, that more candidates can be put forward—into account at all. At the same time it will be necessary to appoint a new government which would insure the continuity of all the transformation processes under way in our country and which would of course above all reflect the result of the election and would enjoy parliament's confidence.

This is all also linked to Czech-Slovak relations, to a new round of constitutional talks, to balancing representatives of Slovak political forces and Czech political forces in the future federal government. This is simply going to be a very complicated situation. And this is also the reason why I intend to think about the post-election situation now and during various political talks to attempt to trace what are the ideas of individual political parties in this sphere. [passage omitted]

Central TV Discusses Election Campaign Coverage

AU1603152192 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 10 Mar 92 p 16

[DR report: "An Hour Every Evening"]

[Text] Prague—The first meeting involving officials from Czechoslovak and Czech Television and representatives from several dozen nationwide political parties and movements was held at Kavci Hory [location of Czechoslovak Television headquarters] yesterday. The subject of the meeting was the televised election campaign. "The purpose of the meeting was to provide information on how, according to our ideas, the television campaign should be organized. We also wanted to inform the parties about certain technical and economic conditions," said Czechoslovak Television Central Director Jiri Kanturek.

According to the Electoral Law, 21 hours of television time—on each channel, of course—will be devoted to the election campaign. As opposed to the last elections, when campaign spots were broadcast several times a day, this year (in view of the shortened election campaign), according to Czechoslovak Television's ideas, a one-hour slot should be devoted to the campaign each day before 1900 [1800 GMT]. Broadcasting time on weekends would be concentrated around lunch time. Hence the *Co Tyden Dal* [*The Week in Review*] program will be off the air during the campaign.

Television representatives rejected the possibility of some contributions being included during prime broadcast time between 2100 and 2200. Some party representatives have demanded that a general panel discussion be broadcast outside the allotted time. Kanturek stated that the Electoral Law is strict and makes contributions over the allotted limit virtually impossible. Czech Television Director Ivo Mathe said that the allotted time goes somewhat beyond the Law on Television and Radio Broadcasting as the parties, who prepare their own contributions themselves, are fully responsible for what is broadcast during this period. As in 1990, Czechoslovak Television will receive no financial contributions and will defray all costs associated with the broadcasts from its own resources. The next meeting will be held on 9 April after the political parties have registered and when the number of parties participating in the elections is known.

Klepac Party Favors Confederation, Social Economy

LD1603182192 Prague CSTK in English 1537 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Bratislava March 16 (CSTK)—Jan Klepac today said his breakaway faction of Slovak Christian Democrats is demanding a declaration of sovereignty and a constitution for the Slovak Republic as part of its electoral programme. On March 7, Klepac, a vice chair of the Slovak National Council (parliament), led a group of "national-oriented" deputies out of Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky's Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) to form the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement (SKDH). Today was the SKDH's first press conference.

"The division of the KDH is not a pre-electoral trick", Klepac said. "It is the outcome of deepening differences in opinion within the movement, especially in the last six months, concerning the state arrangement and Slovak economic policy". In view of the failed talks between the Czech and Slovak parliaments on Czechoslovakia's future state setup, Klepac said, the SKDH is inclined towards a looser union with the Czech republic, meaning a confederation. He said he did not rule out a referendum on the matter, adding that Slovakia should make its ambitions to achieve independent statehood perfectly clear to the Czechs.

On the issue of economic reforms, Klepac explained, the SKDH favours a social market economy, while keeping in mind Slovak specifics and the greater impact of economic reforms—for instance, three times higher unemployment in Slovakia than in the Czech Republic. Of the eight KDH ministers in the Slovak Government, four of them have left for Klepac's SKDH. The movement will hold its founding congress March 28 in Zvolen, Central Slovakia.

Government Retakes Control of Oil Pipeline

AU1603133092 Prague CSTK in English 2139 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 12 (CSTK)— The Czechoslovak Government today decided that the Transpetrol joint-stock company till now owned by the Czech and Slovak Republics will be taken over by federal bodies. When Transpetrol was founded in January 1991, the ownership of oil pipelines was transferred from the federation to the Czech and Slovak Republics' bodies by a decision of the two republics' governments instead of by the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament). By setting up Transpetrol the founders failed to respect the law on power-sharing between the federation and the two national republics under which a decision on oil and gas pipelines and power lines is to be laid down in a special law.

At its session today, the cabinet approved a bill on investment companies and investment funds, which sets rules for their foundation, status, activity, and management, and for state control over them. This bill is a major prerequisite for the success of the current privatization of big industrial enterprises. It sets rules for activities of funds mainly in connection with coupon privatization.

Pithart Notes Disagreement With Nuclear Policy

AU1603180192 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Mar 92 p 2

[CSTK report: "A Cautious Concept"]

[Text] According to Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart, there is an abysmal difference between the Czech and the federal government approaches to the problems of energy generation. Yesterday in Trebic at a meeting with mayors and other representatives of communities and cities of the Brno countryside, Znojmo, and Trebic districts, Pithart described the energy policy of the Czech Republic Government as very cautious. The federal concept of dealing with energy generation, he says, does not offer a feasible solution. "We must base our policy on the limits of the territories in which people live, and not on the total energy demand of the industry," he said. Moreover, the federal concept proposes, according to Pithart, that 50 percent of energy be generated in nuclear power plants. Pithart considers this unacceptable. The discussion also included topics such as an interim disposal site for spent nuclear fuel from Dukovany power

plant, the planned industrial waste incinerator in Oslavany, and an airport in Namest nad Oslavou. The debate showed that none of these three problems has been solved.

Israeli Report on MiG Sales to Egypt Denied

LD1603172792 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Czechoslovakia has never sold any MiG-23 aircraft to any country, Stefan Glezgo, head of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade Department for Controlling Arms Trade, told CSTK. He thus responded to the report published today in the Israeli daily HA'ARETZ, which, referring to an unnamed Israeli minister, writes today that Czechoslovakia recently sold MiG-23 fighter bombers equipped with electronic components made in Israel, to Egypt and North African countries. In the second part of the report HA'ARETZ writes that Czechoslovakia has been selling all kinds of weapons that are also equipped with Israeli components. Stefan Glezko stated that he did not think it was appropriate to comment on this since the report is unfounded.

Government Office Approves Skoda-Volkswagen Deal

AU1703123692 Prague CSTK in English 1507 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 15 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Office for Economic Competition (FUHS) has approved an agreement on the establishment of a joint venture between Czechoslovakia's leading car maker Skoda Mlada Boleslav (Central Bohemia) and Germany's Volkswagen, FUHS spokesman told CSTK today. Under the agreement, signed by representatives of the Czech Government and the German partner March 28, 1991, Volkswagen is taking a 31-percent stake in Skoda, to increase to 70 percent by 1995. Volkswagen, Europe's largest car maker, is to invest about 9,500 million Deutsche marks in Skoda by the year 2000.

The FUHS announced February 29 it had launched an investigation into Skoda's decision to raise passenger cars prices by nine percent on average as of March 1, saying the price increase amounted to abuse of Skoda's dominant position in the Czechoslovak market, under the antimonopoly law. The FUHS ruled out that Skoda must submit all documentation needed for a definitive decision by March 20. If it fails to do so, the FUHS will ban application of new prices of Skoda cars and Skoda will have to pay a penalty amounting up to five percent of its 1991 turnover.

At the beginning of March, the Anti-Monopoly Office said the March 1991 6,000 million dollar deal between Volkswagen and Skoda was invalid because they had not requested its approval as required by law. According to Vladimir Zelezny, spokesman for the Czech Government, Skoda representatives agreed with minister-chairman of the FUHS Imrich Flassik to submit the request March 4. On April 30, 1991, Volkswagen also signed an agreement with the Slovak Bratislava-based auto parts manufacturer BAZ for an 80 percent stake, to increase to 94 percent by 1993.

Spokesman Says Walesa Plans Talks on Coalition

LD1703115492 Warsaw PAP in English 0946 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 17—President Lech Walesa will hold talks with many politicians so that to help the prime minister in building a broadened coalition, the spokesman for the president said Tuesday. Interviewed by the independent Radio Zet, Andrzej Drzycimski said Poland needs a programmatic coalition. "Everybody begins to see the need of a common program," he added. Drzycimski did not rule out the possibility of the president taking over the post of the prime minister because "the very young democracy sometimes approaches the verge of anarchy" and "social endurance may be finally exhausted," he warned. The president deems it important to win social approval for what Drzycimski termed as a "democratically elaborated program." On the other hand, an "executive dictatorship" will be needed to give the government a chance to implement the program.

Referring to the forthcoming visit to be paid by Walesa to Germany late in March Drzycimski said the president will bear in mind above all that Poland and Germany are neighbours. Hence the chief message of the visit will be: "While remembering the past we must go further on and be neighbours on normal terms," Drzycimski said.

Walesa, Mazowiecki Discuss Widening Coalition

LD1703182692 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1510 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Interview with Andrzej Drzycimski, Polish presidential spokesman, by correspondent Robert Kowalski on President Lech Walesa's meeting with Democratic Union Chairman Tadeusz Mazowiecki in Warsaw on 17 March—recorded]

[Text] President Lech Walesa met Democratic Union [UD] Chairman Tadeusz Mazowiecki today on the possibility of widening the government coalition and on the president's stand on this idea:

[Drzycimski] Both topics are mutual. Today's meeting with UD Chairman Tadeusz Mazowiecki was understood in this spirit. This meeting was at Mazowiecki's request. Although it lasted only an hour, the fact that so many topics were covered made it seem like it would never end. The main topic was the situation in the country. The president said that the government coalition can be widened in several stages—widening the composition of the government coalition itself and widening the base for the government in Parliament—but that a programmatic infrastructure can also be created. Another issue is the matter of the Constitution, the method of adopting the Constitution, to prevent the Constitution from being negated by political groups that happen to gain power or a majority in Parliament.

[Kowalski] I would like to conclude by asking: What is the president's stand on Prime Minister Olszewski's statement on a government of liberals, these none-too-pleasant statements lately?

[Drzycimski] I am not familiar with this statement. It is not my habit to comment on statements that I have not heard or even have not had the opportunity with which to familiarize myself.

Mazowiecki Briefs Media on Meeting With Olszewski

LD1603205392 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Report by unidentified correspondent on news conference by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Democratic Union chairman, on 16 March, place not given—Mazowiecki remarks recorded; no video available]

[Text] Prime Minister Jan Olszewski and Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Democratic Union [UD], held talks for an hour. The UD leader told the prime minister about his party's official stance on broadening the government coalition. Tadeusz Mazowiecki expects the government on 18 March to let the UD have details of the draft budget. Marcin Gugulski, the government spokesman, said that no further meeting between the two politicians is expected before Friday.

[Correspondent] At a press conference Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that his talks with the prime minister were of a preliminary nature and were devoted mainly to defining the course of future contacts which will require agreement with the other partners of these talks.

[Mazowiecki] I told Prime Minister Olszewski, that for my part I consider it to be a very important matter as there will be many hurdles to these talks. On neither side were there incorrect or mutually irritating remarks, so as not to hamper these talks. We ought to both try to achieve that. I told Prime Minister Olszewski that when the talks are held a stop should be made on staff changes that are of political significance or force.

[Correspondent] Tadeusz Mazowiecki expects his demand will be treated seriously by the prime minister. The UD chairman said that following the prime minister's return from France [on 19 March] a date for a meeting of the chairmen of the political parties presently supporting the government and of the UD will be agreed on. Tadeusz Mazowiecki upheld the UD Council's stance on the participation of the Liberals in a broadened coalition.

[Mazowiecki] If we are going to now really reorganize the coalition then a wide but not a shakey coalition should be created.

[Correspondent] He said he would try to convince the prime minister that Donald Tusk from the Liberal Democratic Congress be present at the meeting of party

heads. This week Tadeusz Mazowiecki intends to meet representatives of various political parties on their own.

Olszewski Explains Issues of Formulating Budget

LD1503204392 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Text] Delegates came to the Warsaw Technical University for the general meeting of the Mazowsze region of Solidarity today. Prime Minister Jan Olszewski attended.

Prime Minister Jan Olszewski announced today that the government will complete work on the draft budget in the coming week. He spoke as a guest of the general delegates' meeting of the Mazowsze region of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity. In a half-hour speech, the prime minister assured that he will be seeking political support for the government's program. This cannot be an accord based on the division of spheres of influence, but on programmatic unity. Parliament's approval is a necessary condition, but is not sufficient itself. The government program must receive social support, Jan Olszewski said, encouraging the trade unionists to draw up a social accord.

[Begin Olszewski recording] The period facing us is one for making choices. We must make the effort to overcome the errors that brought such hard consequences in the economy. The program for such activity, which the government has prepared, has apparently been questioned. It did not find sufficient support in parliament, it was not adopted in parliament. If we were to treat this within the framework of the normal parliamentary game, perhaps the government ought to submit its resignation. We have not done this.

We have not done this out of responsibility to the state, as this program that we are presenting, although indeed it cannot be perfect, is at the moment the only program. Those who voted against it are a coalition of two completely different, diametrically different options. That is why we have decided, despite the fact that this program was, as you know, not adopted, to base on it the construction of the budget and to present it for approval to the Sejm, for the second time in this form, in the form of an adaptation.

In the course of the coming week, we will complete work on the budget. It will be passed to the Sejm, published, presented, [words indistinct]. This is a very difficult budget, and will be painful in many areas of our life, for we have a very specified quantity of resources and we can only allocate these resources. [end recording]

In Jan Olszewski's view, the most important component of the budget will be welfare expenditures. The satisfaction of all needs will consume 40 percent of the budget, 10 percent of the gross national income. We must attempt to reduce the sphere of welfare protection to one-third of the level of the budget and eight percent of the gross national income, the head of government said.

Mazowsze Region Chairman Maciej Jankowski assured Prime Minister Jan Olszewski that the union wants to be a partner for the government. On our part there is a desire for partnership, but we must however have the conditions created for us. The conditions for confrontation already exist. The authorities will choose how it will be in the country, he stated.

Olechowski Proposes Higher Sales Tax to Unions

LD1203232692 Warsaw PAP in English 2123 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—Finance Minister Andrzej Olechowski proposed at a meeting with trade unionists on Thursday to raise turnover tax on some commodities and services and to broaden the scope of its application. "The proposals stem from the (difficult) financial situation of the state and envisaged budgetary receipts and expenditures. They are also related to the planned changes in the taxation system and the introduction of value-added tax," Deputy Finance Minister Waldemar Manugiewicz said.

According to him, a gradual increase in turnover tax would prevent a drastic growth of prices after the implementation of a new taxation system planned for the end of this year or the beginning of 1993. The Finance Ministry plans to use means obtained from the increased turnover tax for social welfare. "The proposals of the finance minister were received with mixed feelings by the unionists but there were no totally negative opinions on the purposefulness of the move," Manugiewicz said.

Minister Janowski Supports Agricultural Credits

LD1303203692 Warsaw PAP in English 1904 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 13—Ensuring credits for agriculture lies in the consumers' interests, said Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy Gabriel Janowski at a briefing organized by the government press office Friday. By offering farmers more inexpensive credits that can be started under the government ordinance of March 3, Janowski wants to provide farmers with money to buy mineral fertilizers and to prevent the regress of the production of cereals this year. The minister explained to journalists that the fall in agricultural production at first hits a consumer. The minister expects the procurement of milk to fall by the next several points this year. But he sees chances for maintaining numerous hog population whose level guarantees good supplies of meat for the market.

Adviser to Agriculture Minister Marian Brzoska added that Poland could annually export agricultural produce worth about one billion dollars to the East and about two billion dollars to the West if it only modernized agricultural processing. The demand for Polish food can be evidenced at least by the fact that German citizens buy foodstuffs in border shops on Saturdays and Sundays.

The value of these products is twice as great as those exported under official contracts.

Jaruzelski: Martial Law Preempted Soviet Invasion

LD1303205292 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Mar 92

[No video available]

[Text] General Wojciech Jaruzelski is not surprised by the statement made by General Viktor Dubinin that if it weren't for martial law the Soviet armed forces would have marched into Poland on 14 December 1981. I am rather surprised by the fact that for over 10 years many people in Poland, and especially active politicians, cannot, or maybe will not, recognize this truth, Wojciech Jaruzelski added. General Dubinin granted an interview to GAZETA WYBORCZA. Today only an excerpt was published. Tomorrow it will be published in its entirety.

Skubiszewski Discusses Developing NATO Ties

AU1703084692 Poznan WPROST in Polish 8 Mar 92 p 4

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by journalist identified as Andrzejewski; place and date not given: "Leopards on the Vistula"]

[Text] Krzysztof Skubiszewski, minister of foreign affairs: "Contrary to the numerous fears that were expressed, the recent misunderstandings between the Ministry of National Defense and the State Security Council will not have any impact on Polish foreign policy. Foreign policy is pursued by the minister of foreign affairs, in close cooperation with the president, the prime minister, and the government. If a particular minister makes a statement on the subject of Poland's relations with NATO today, he should remember that the issue is not solely a military one, but first and foremost a political one. The issue did no arise today, but a considerable time ago, in 1990.

"I am in favor of cooperation between Poland and NATO, including military cooperation, and not just at the defense ministry level, but also at the command level. This issue was raised even before the Olszewski government was formed and we had our first civilian defense minister. So, the differences that exist between the Belweder Palace and the Office of the Council of Ministers should not be exaggerated."

[WPROST] However, in light of the fact that NATO does not appear to be particularly keen to admit us to its ranks, are we not in danger of finding ourselves isolated?

[Skubiszewski] Some politicians seem naively to think that Poland will become a member of NATO right away and that it would be best for that to happen tomorrow. However, an operation of this kind is carried out gradually using the appropriate methods. We have not just started to form links with NATO today. These ties have recently assumed an intensified form thanks to the formation of the Atlantic Cooperation Council, which provides Poland with a significant forum in which to be active. This issue cannot, however, be settled in one sentence: "Poland wants to join NATO!," because the reply that we will get will be "we do not envisage the admission of new members." This kind of simplistic approach is something alien to us. We have been developing links with NATO for the past one and half years, and everything is proceeding in the best possible way.

Government Calls for End to Violence in Moldova

AU1603192492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 92

["Statement by Romania's Government in Connection With the Events in the Rayons on the Left Bank of the Dnestr River of the Republic of Moldova"; place and date of issue not given]

[Text] The Government of Romania is profoundly concerned about the development on the left bank of the Dnestr River within the Republic of Moldova, which have caused great disquiet among our country's public. Of particular concern is the preservation and strengthening of the forces of Russian Cossacks, who have come a long way and who have crossed the Ukraine armed with great amounts of modern weapons from the arsenals of the former Soviet Army.

The Romanian Government cannot understand how these arsenals can be accessible for mercenary gangs. This fact may be explained either through the complicity of those called upon to control such arsenals or through their incapability of ensuring this control. Both alternatives reveal equally serious situations, which may question even guarantees regarding the control of nuclear weapons.

The actions by the separatist forces in those rayons, accompanied by acts of violence and aggression against the legal state bodies and against a broad spectrum of the population are also of great concern. These developments are coupled with a broad campaign aimed at disinforming the domestic and international public, including the dissemination of false information regarding an alleged Romanian military presence in those rayons. All these developments threaten the territorial integrity and the law and order of the Republic of Moldova, which is an independent state, a UN member, and a participant in the CSCE. The continuation of such actions generates a source of tension and destabilization that will affect not only the Republic of Moldova, but a larger area as well.

The Romanian Government believes all politicians who may be able to influence events positively, primarily the governments of the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Romania, must take urgent measures to immediately halt these acts of violence, to disarm the mercenary gangs, and to solve all problems concerning the populations in those rayons with discussions and negotiations that ensure the territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova and apply all provisions on human rights stipulated by the CSCE documents, including those on persons belonging to ethnic minorities. It is necessary to act this way without delay thereby preventing a fire rather than extinguish it.

The Government of Romania, the statement emphasizes, views the way in which action is taken to ease this source of tension as a test for the willingness and capability of the newly emerged states in the former Soviet Union to establish relations among themselves on the basis of the principles of international law and on the basis of the commitments assumed in the UN Charter and the CSCE Final Act.

According to the principles stipulated by these documents, the states have the obligation to refrain from organizing or encouraging disorderly forces or armed gangs, especially mercenary gangs, that are planning incursions on the territory of another state. The government notes the communique that the foreign affairs ministers of Romania and the Russian Federation publicized on 13 March this year, whereby all forces involved are asked to exercise restraint and to solve problems on the basis of the principles of international law and the CSCE document provisions. The government expresses its hope that in response to this position things will calm down in the rayons on the left bank of the Dnestr River.

Romania's Government expresses its solidarity with and support for the policy promoted and the measures adopted by the Government of the Republic of Moldova aimed at solving the conflict in the rayons on the left bank of the Dnestr by peaceful means, including the return of weapons by civilians and the departure from Moldova of mercenaries.

At the same time, the Government of Romania calls on the governments of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine to exert their entire influence in order to put a halt to the acts of violence and terror against civilians in the rayons on the left bank of the Dnestr in the Republic of Moldova.

Romania's Government will continue to pursue developments with keen interest and will constantly be in touch with the Government of the Republic of Moldova, being determined to act by all available political means in order to contribute to the reestablishment of calm and law and order in the rayons on the left bank of the Dnestr River.

President Iliescu Comments

AU1603195292 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Statement by Romanian President Ion Iliescu, after a telephone conversation this evening with Moldovan President Mircea Snegur, in Bucharest on 16 March—recorded]

[Text] I would like to make a short statement in connection with the events that are taking place on the left bank of the Dnestr River. Yesterday and today I was in telephone contact with President Snegur, just now I had a talk with him, and this morning I held several discussions with various members of the government and with the foreign minister.

We are concerned about these events and about the presence and increase in the number of Russian Cossacks who appeared in this area of the Republic of Moldova and who are equipped with military supplies that belong to the troops of the former Soviet Army. We are also concerned about the acts of violence that have been taking place for a few days and that claim human lives and result in destruction and material damage, that is, separatists' provocative acts of misinforming the public, including the issues regarding the involvement of Romania and of certain Romanians in these events in that region.

I believe that these actions and their escalation are very dangerous and risk becoming a source of destabilization not only for the Republic of Moldova, but are also dangerous for the possibility of the expansion of this conflict. And this could be a very dangerous thing.

We have hailed the joint Moscow declaration of the two foreign ministers, who turned to the forces that are involved in the conflict in order to prevent the escalation of these events and adopt measures aimed at disarming these mercenary troops and turning the weapons over to the troops of this region and who asked for support for the efforts made by the government of the Republic of Moldova to find political solutions to this conflict.

Now I have been informed by President Snegur that the first replacement of Marshal Shaposhnikov and three deputies of the Russian Parliament have arrived in Chisinau. We hope that their presence will assist the legal bodies of the Republic of Moldova in their effort to find solutions to the conflict in the spirit of the efforts that the political leadership of the Republic of Moldova is making. I wanted to make this statement to express our position in connection with these events and to express our concern about them, as well as our belief that solutions will be found. We rely on the support and responsibility of all those who can contribute to these efforts.

In this respect, we are thinking of turning to the political leadership of Russia and Ukraine in order to be able to cooperate together in supporting these efforts and to overcome these very serious events and to be able to support the political leadership of Moldova in finding peaceful solutions to these problems.

Adrian Nastase Assesses Talks in Moscow

AU1403170092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1126 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/3/1992—My visit to Moscow is part of the contacts that I began with the Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev last year, Romania's Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase told a news conference.

The talks were wide-ranging and covered political, economic, cultural relations. Politically, it is worth noting that there are no difficult problems between Romania and Russia and that the complementary character of their economies would better be used through direct relations between businessmen and enterprises, by making the most of a potential for growing cooperation, like that of the Black Sea economic cooperation zone, said the minister.

The ministerial talks were paralleled by meetings between the foreign relations directors of the two ministries on CSCE, in light of the Helsinki meeting. The Romanian minister said that a basic bilateral political treaty is on the negotiating table. Some provisions have already been put into it, but it will only be made final in the coming period. A second aspect concerned President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Bucharest, with the current difficulties of Russia being very well understood, yet hoping for the visit to the capital of Romania to take place, Mr. Nastase showed.

Economically, a framework for contacts and exchanges between Romania and Russia is in place, the speaker said. A trade agreement was concluded last December, and more recently a protocol on bilateral exchanges and payments for 1992. The Romanian foreign minister said that the talks—with Andrey Kozyrev, with vice-president Aleksandr Rutskoy and with Foreign External Relations Minister Petr Aven—covered also problems that still cast a shadow on the bilateral relationship. They concerned the situation in east Moldova, and its counterproductive developments that were made worse by the arrival of a group of Cossacks. The presence of foreigners, some of which have mercenary status, has developed a certain sentiment in Romanians, as a result of the Russian authorities' lack of willingness to block the situation.

Mr. Adrian Nastase took the opportunity to deny once again the alleged Romanian military involvement across the Dnestr, rejecting the attempts of certain Russian mass media to disinform the public opinion.

"I discussed with Minister Andrey Kozyrev also the treasury matter. We agreed to exchange information on this subject in the near future and, in a next stage, to appoint two expert teams to study the details of this dossier."

In the end we agreed to review all bilateral legal regulations, re-consider the legal framework of the consular relations. We got a positive answer—in principle—to our move—also in principle—on opening a general consulate in St. Petersburg. The possibility was also considered of opening a cultural centre in Moscow.

Iliescu, Roman Discuss Results of Meeting

AU1703131192 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 14 Mar 92 p 1

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu and National Salvation Front leader Petre Roman by Florin Diaconu in Bucharest on 13 March]

[Text]

"I Have Gotten an Additional Piece of Information"

[Diaconu] How do you assess the political results of the meeting this evening?

[Iliescu] I think it has been useful, and clarified things for everyone.

[Diaconu] Before this meeting, you were saying that you are on the threshold of very important personal options. As far as these options are concerned, have you achieved additional and useful clarifications?

[Iliescu] I think so.

[Diaconu] Without any kind of doubts or...

[Iliescu] Well, no, because (background noise) the necessary time for reflection. In any case, I have gotten an additional piece of information that will consolidate certain (background noise) ... views.

[Diaconu] What about your point of view, the one you expressed before this discussion? Are the preconditions opened by this discussion within the Steering Collegium optimistic, pessimistic, or...

[Iliescu] It is difficult to describe it as optimistic or pessimistic. Generally speaking, the situation is complicated and not easy to assess in such (background noise).

[Diaconu] Do you think that this is the final discussion or will there be another round of talks?

[Iliescu] I think that ... it depends. It depends especially on the development of the Front itself. I have not come here to influence a Front decision. I wanted to listen and I mostly did so, and I presented (background noise) ... so as to have a more complete opinion about the political clarification process within the Front.

Note: Taking into consideration AZI's relationship with the presidency, which is tense, we have not filled in the "background- noise" passages although it is clear what they contain. This is in order so that we don't generate new opportunities for being blamed for all sorts of things, such as attempts to distort words and nuance.

"We Pursue the Same Political Line"

[Diaconu] From the short talk I had with him, Mr. Iliescu seemed satisfied, even optimistic. As the representative of a different political line, what is your point of view? Are you equally optimistic, more optimistic, or...?

[Roman] He was optimistic about what?

[Diaconu] About the results he achieved this evening, about the results of the dialogue...

[Roman] I am also optimistic, because in the end we had the impression that we are both looking for our identity and pursue the same political line. This is how we are going to the Convention. From this point of view, I am also optimistic.

[Diaconu] In connection with the party's future development, do you not believe, however, that the Steering Collegium could have given a clearer signal this evening?

[Roman] This evening, the maximum that could be achieved was exactly this, the solution we reached.

NLP Seeks 'Coordination of Strategies'

AU1703085492 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 12 Mar 92 p 4

[Unsigned note: "The PNL Wants Privileged Relations With the PNTCD"]

[Text] "The moment has arrived for the historic parties to establish their position and, in this respect, we want privileged relations with the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD]"—said Deputy Sorin Botnaru, executive secretary of the National Liberal Party [PNL], on the occasion of a meeting-dialogue with reporters that took place on Tuesday [10 March] in Bucharest. He mentioned that, although there are differences in doctrine between the PNL and the PNTCD, a coordination of strategies of the two parties could be achieved with a view to the upcoming parliamentary elections.

Referring to the expected visit of certain leaders of the opposition to the United States, Mr. Botnaru said: "Finally, a number of American political personalities expressed their wish to receive as clear a picture as possible about the events taking place on the Romanian political stage."

PAC Conference Discusses Strategy for Elections

AU1503175892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1536 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 15/3/1992—The National Conference of the Civic Alliance Party (PAC) concluded on Sunday, March 15. Approaching an item in the agenda referring to organizational matters, the speakers, members of the Steering Collegium and chairmen of PAC county branches, placed special emphasis on the need for an intensified party activity on a territorial level through a better information flow. Furthermore, it was stressed that the party's identity should be built up in the sense that its doctrine, the corner stone of which is the recovery of civil society in Romania, should be clarified. "We address that part of the civil society that is willing for a change and, along this line, we must identify the segment we wish to represent," said Mr. Stelian Tanase, PAC vice-chairman.

Most of the speakers dwelt on PAC participation in the local polls, alongside the other political parties in the Democratic Convention, the party's strategy for the general elections, the need to give increased attention to

the national question. Worthy of attention were the opinions concerning the opportune character of maintaining the alliance with the Hungarian Democratic Union in the territory, as well as dissensions between PAC and the National Liberal Party during negotiations in the campaign for the local polls.

PAC Chairman Nicolae Manolescu, appealed to a "rational correct, sincere and open style," which, in his opinion, would certainly lead to his party's winning a place in the Romanian political scene.

Unity Urged Within Democratic Convention

AU1303201592 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romania 10 Mar 92 p 1

[Romulus Brancoveanu article: "Unity"]

[Text] The declarations of certain political leaders that we heard before or immediately after the local elections lead us to understand that the unity of the Democratic Convention in view of the parliamentary and presidential elections still remains a problem that has to be solved. Things are still not very clear today, and the period requested for its examination and negotiations is getting too long. Even if the thorough analysis is preferable to some hasty decisions, however, the evaluation of the election results—regardless of the interests of the parties involved—can only lead to one conclusion: unity and only unity is the "key" that has ensured and will continue to ensure the success of democratic forces. The calculations according to which any party coalition results in the loss of an important number of votes—and which we are presented as "axioms" of the Western mythology—are far from valid. If this were the case, anybody can ask the question, why is a coalition of parties still a current practice even in Western countries, something that is given to us as an example? It is clear that situations differ and that not every coalition automatically presupposes the loss of a part of the party electorate. Everything depends on the structure of coalition, the loss of votes taking place only when the coalition is entered by forces that are incompatible due to their general orientation. The results of the second polls in local elections and in Bucharest demonstrate that the electorate disregards party sympathies when their ideals are at stake.

Now is the time for politicians to understand that the pressure of the public opinion for the maintenance and strengthening of unity of the democratic opposition does not require—from political parties—answers determined by circumstancial and tactical considerations, meant to ensure a short term coalition, from a purely electoral interest—but actions that could lead to the achievement of a fundamental, programmatic unity. Public opinion expects the democratic parties to demonstrate that beyond the political orientations that they represent, they are capable of disregarding their specific interests and form that type of political force capable of ensuring the irreversible democratization of the society and of pulling the country out of the economic and social crisis. Persisting in a circumstantial and oscillating unity, based more on political interests than on a unitary and firm policy will reduce the credibility of the Democratic Convention and ultimately will result in the disappointment of the electorate. The fact that an important electoral strata—the young people—that the Convention believes it won by itself, were present at polling stations in the recent elections below expectations, was an alarm in itself.

The unity of the opposition is not reduced only to the problem of electoral lists and of the candidate to the office of resident. More important is the political alternative that the Democratic Convention should impose in elaborating a concrete plan of changes of the Romanian society as well as an efficient governing program. The political hesitations and political games that we are witnessing are far from ensuring the necessary awareness, calm, and balance to draft that plan. If the candidate lists will not be uniform, the political programs will not be coordinated, and the electoral strategy will not be coherent, we ask ourselves: What is the destiny of the post-electoral negotiations aimed at ensuring a possible efficient governing? It is an illusion that a party, detaching itself from the Convention will obtain that type of electoral upswing that will permit it to reap all the benefits, and this is dangerous. The Democratic Convention is duty-bound to give hopes to everybody in the ultimate victory of democracy.

Federal

Kostic Sees Muslims as Key to Bosnia Solution

LD1603212892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1827 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Sremska Mitrovica, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—The people in the Serbian Krajinas [border lands] will enjoy greater security with the deployment of the UN forces under the authority of the Security Council than with the numerous members of the Yugoslav People's Army. This was stated by Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, at tonight's meeting of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] for Sremska Mitrovica.

Speaking on the current situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Branko Kostic emphasized that the favorable side of the involvement of the European Community, with UN support, lies in the search for a political solution of the problem. Such a solution is possible, Kostic said, but any solution must take into consideration the interests of all three peoples living on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Any solution based purely on the majority of votes (regardless of nationality) can be dangerous and could lead to a war which would most certainly spread to other areas as well, to the Balkans and also Europe.

Branko Kostic considers that the key to a peaceful solution of the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis lies in the hands of the Muslim people. The chance to live in peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina lies in the principles of the existing republican constitution which treats all three peoples equally. Finally, although it is the Serbs who are so interested in preserving the continuity of Yugoslavia, the Muslims too should be equally interested because only in such a community can they live together in a common state.

The process of disintegration of Yugoslavia, Kostic said, which is publicly encouraged by Germany, has not been completed by the secession of Croatia and Slovenia. However, such tendencies continue and the behavior of neighboring countries confirms that history is repeating itself, because Hungary and Bulgaria, and especially Albania, are looking to the territory of Yugoslavia and its definitive disintegration with bigger or smaller aspirations.

What Serbia and Montenegro want and work for is to stryggle to prevent this and to frustrate further Germanization of the Balkans, that is, to preserve the continuity of Yugoslavia. Our striving for the preservation of Yugoslavia is not the result of Bolshevik ideology but of our conviction that the preservation of Yugoslavia protects the interests of the Serbs in Serbia and Montenegro and at the same time keeps the door open for those republics which will not join this community at the present time. By this, Kostic said, I mean above all Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia. Jugoslav Kostic, member of the SFRY Presidency, also spoke at the SPS meeting in Sremska Mitrovica on the topical political situation and the solution of the Yugoslav crisis.

Vice President Kostic Expects New SFRY

92BA0629A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Mar 92 pp 1, 6

[Article by Biljana Civjak based on appearance of Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, at a meeting of the National Defense Committee of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly]

[Text] "On the one hand, the involvement of the blue helmets, which signifies an end to the war in the hotbeds of crisis, but also prevents or diminishes the chance of the military conflict spreading to Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H], and on the other, the favorable outcome of the referendum in Montenegro, combined with our orientation of conducting over the next two months the entire procedure of adopting the new constitution and of reconstituting the bodies and agencies of the Yugoslav state in this joint state, represent those things which in our assessment open up prospects for a peaceful settlement of our governmental-political crisis," Dr. Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, declared yesterday in the Federal Parliament.

The vice president of the collective chief of state, that is, attended a meeting of the National Defense Committee of the Federal Chamber (which was open to the public just before it began) and orally informed the delegates about activities being undertaken in connection with the arrival of the UN forces in Yugoslavia as well as about measures that will be taken in order to transform the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. He also answered several delegates' questions.

"In our assessment and on the basis of conversations conducted with Mr. Cyrus Vance, the conclusion can be drawn that there are no impediments or dilemmas at all about the commitment of the UN peacekeeping forces, I would say even if we assume an aggravation or persistence of those tensions which are present in Bosnia-Hercegovina," Dr. Branko Kostic said at the beginning of his appearance, emphasizing that this is seen as very constructive in the SFRY Presidency. Above all, because from the first moment it was felt that through the involvement of the UN peacekeeping forces "we guarantee not only an interruption of the war in those regions," but also "safe protection of the Serbian population in the earlier administrative limits of the Republic of Croatia, and we create the conditions whereby over a reasonable period of time, how long we do not know at present, solutions will be sought for the status of the Serbian people through political negotiations."

"It is our assessment that the situation in B-H will not escalate. We think that both the Muslims and Serbs are sufficiently aware of how grave and tragic the consequences would be for both nationalities in B-H if there should be an escalation of such conflicts," the vice president of the collective chief of state said, pointing

out that any solution for Bosnia-Hercegovina is acceptable if arrived at on the basis of consensus of all three nationalities. Any solution that would signify imposition of the will of one or two nationalities would, as he sees it, directly result in a mutual military conflict, with consequences beyond reckoning. We look on those elements, as Yugoslavia undergoes reconstruction, as a real chance and opportunity whereby tomorrow, when the conditions are brought about, even those who now at this moment do not have the opportunity would join the new joint state.

"We assume that the talks concerning Bosnia will last longer than the process of reconstructing the joint Yugoslav state, so that now it is not possible to assume, nor to conclude, and not even to anticipate, in my judgment, that Bosnia might figure as a third constituent element of that joint state," Kostic said, without excluding the possibility that as political solutions are explored in Bosnia, people in those borders may realize in a somewhat later period that they should become part of the Yugoslav community. If there is an agreement there in the sense of a confederation or cantonization, the part of Bosnia where the Serbian people live "could find an interest in establishing a special bond with the joint Yugoslav state."

As for the Serbian people in the Krajinas, the vice president of the Presidency pointed out that the new joint Yugoslav state opens up an opportunity and room, when the appropriate political solution is found, for them to rely on it, which would be on the basis of their own political commitment. It is expected that this could occur after one, five, or 15 years.

On Macedonia: "The use of force should not prevent the Macedonian people and Macedonian leadership from exercising the right to carry out the process to which they are committed concerning international recognition and the gaining of Macedonia's independence, just as in our behavior up to now and in our policy we have felt that use of the JNA should not impose that will on either the Slovene or the Croatian leadership."

There Is To Be No Correction of the Plan

If in a relatively short period after Macedonia gains independence, it is not partitioned, Kostic believes that the Macedonian people will also become aware that Macedonia's true security and future are in Yugoslavia.

Recalling that Borisav Jovic had departed for New York, the vice president of the Presidency said that he would resolve possible dilemmas if there still are any related to the peacekeeping forces. It is quite certain, regardless of the statements of officials in Croatia, that there will be "no corrections whatsoever" in the peace plan.

Speaking about the transformation of the Yugoslav People's Army before the delegates of the SFRY Assembly, Dr. Branko Kostic first said that the new joint Yugoslav state would be substantially smaller, at this point about 40-45 percent of the territory of the earlier Yugoslavia and with approximately the same proportion of the population, and this must be borne in mind in connection with the transformation of its armed forces, but he also said that in this connection attention must also be paid to the environment of that joint state.

"In this situation, we should not underte any radical moves that could diminish to any considerable extent the combat capability of the JNA, because, with however much confidence we look on the involvement of the peacekeeping forces of the United Nations, Tudjman's behavior has simply taught us that we cannot trust him. Accordingly, at this moment we could not undertake any very radical measures to significantly diminish the strength of the JNA until we are certain that this peace process will finally take hold," the vice president said, and explained that there are three strategic commitments in the outlined transformation of the JNA: creation of the office of the civilian minister of the Army, and then establishment of a regular professional system in one part of the Army that would extend over the extremely valuable pieces of equipment that require a high level of training, and finally, reduction of the length of required military service for other registrants, so that the population would be taught to handle weapons in a much shorter period of time.

In connection with the fear that the burden of those retiring from the JNA would fall on the shoulders of Serbia and Montenegro, Kostic said that this must nevertheless be borne by all the parts of Yugoslavia which the Army served, and that that would be a part of the final division of assets.

Gradual Introduction of the Peacekeeping Forces

In answer to a question of delegate Dragoljub Jakic concerning protection of the Serbian people in Krajina, the vice president of the Presidency said that he thinks that the UN forces will begin to arrive earlier, before the end of March, that it is possible that this process will be speeded up as compared to earlier predictions.

"But during all this time we have not diminished in any respect the combat readiness nor protection of the population in those threatened areas. Those units and those forces which we had there we have even today. You must realize that the JNA will not withdraw from those areas in advance so that the peacekeeping forces can come, but that the peacekeeping forces will be brought into that region gradually, and insofar as they take over the function of protecting that population, to that extent the withdrawal of units of the Yugoslav People's Army will also be carried out. That is in fact the reason why at this moment we cannot change the decision of the Presidency whereby we extended the length of military service for the reserves by three months, nor that decision whereby we foresaw that the reserves of the JNA would spend four months on the front," the vice president replied.

Concerning interest as to why the EC does not alter the conception of Yugoslavia's disintegration, Kostic emphasized that the assessment is that the continuity of

Yugoslavia is now being looked upon in the international community as something realistic. He thinks that a tragic view should not be taken of the actual fact of evasion of Yugoslav federal authorities, "especially because now, that is, from the beginning, the most responsible representatives of those future members of the Yugoslav joint state have been participating in those talks."

"I personally expect, on the basis of certain information we have, that the conference in Brussels on 9 March will not begin before the economic sanctions against Serbia are lifted," he explained.

Because the constitution of the new joint state will be adopted before completion of the agreement on Bosnia is expected, Vasa Djukanovic, a delegate, was interested in how the question of the JNA staying in Bosnia will be resolved in this connection. It is the opinion of Vice President Kostic that the draft of the new constitution should be offered not only to Serbia and Montenegro, but also to Macedonia and B-H, although he assumes that Macedonia will not accept it, and it is not likely that it will be acceptable to the Muslims and Croats in B-H either.

"I do not preclude the possibility of the Serbian people in B-H—within the framework of their own bodies, which they have already instituted there—making corresponding decisions in connection with the Constitution of Yugoslavia, and also organizing multiparty elections to that federal parliament," Kostic replied, convinced that the question of the JNA will be appropriately agreed on with the representatives of all three nationalities. In response to the question of Ivana Veselinovic whether there is still an immediate threat of war, the vice president of the collective chief of state answered affirmatively.

JNA Prepares for Arrival of UN Forces

92BA0604B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Feb 92 p 4

[Article by B. Mitrovic: "Weapons Giving Way to Reason"]

[Text] Belgrade—"As far as the Army is concerned, the UN peacekeeping operation can begin tomorrow, but if anyone tries to cheat on what has been agreed, by force or in any other way, the Army will be ready to protect the Serbian people effectively at any price."

In a meeting with commanders of the Bihac, Banja Luka, and Knin Corps and the so-called 5th Corps of the Air Force and Air Defense, these words were uttered a few days ago by Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, acting federal secretary for national defense and chief of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia. After all, he said, in cooperation with the State Committee for Cooperation With the United Nations, the Army has made all the preparations that were the precondition for the arrival of the blue helmets. Detailed instructions as what should be done on this occasion in Bihac have probably been received by Lieutenant Colonel Generals Spiro Mikovic and Vladimir Vukovic and Major Generals Ratko Mladic and Ljubomir Gojic, who are in the so-called crisis areas with their units.

Demilitarized Zone

As is well known, the territory under protection of the United Nations will be demilitarized during the peacekeeping operation, that is, regular units of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and Croatian military troops will be withdrawn from it. At the same time, all paramilitary formations are also supposed to be disarmed in these areas, and UN troops are to be stationed in Beli Manastir, the eastern sections of Osijek, Vukovar, certain villages to the east of Vinkovci, Grubisno Polje, Daruvar, Pakrac, the western parts of Nova Gradiska, the eastern regions of Novska, Kostajnica, Petrinja, Dvor, Glina, Vrginmost, Vojnic, Slunj, Korenica, Donji Lapac, Gracac, Obrovac, Knin, and Benkovac. From what we have learned from sources close to the Army, the idea of stationing military observers in Mostar and Dubrovnik as well is also in play. In consenting to this aspect, it is said in army circles, in the choice between peace and war, the Army has committed itself undoubtedly to peace.

However, the conditions under which peace will actually be established will be decided most of all by the inhabitants in the so-called threatened areas, which for days have said that they will not allow the Army to move its units out of garrisons and other facilities. Certain high-level military officials have also asserted, for example, that they will not leave Kninska Krajina until a satisfactory political solution is found for the Serbs in those areas. Nevertheless, opinions have changed at the last moment, at least that is what NARODNA ARMIJA says. According to surveys conducted in units committed in the crisis area, almost 100 percent of officers and men answered affirmatively concerning the peace plan of Cyrus Vance. In spite of fierce opposition, that opinion also prevails, although with a somewhat lower percentage, among the inhabitants of that region, because, it is said in the Army, people now hope for peace and expect that peace means a return to life. Although it is clear to every reasonable man that the UN peace plan is based on a compromise, its value lies in the fact, as they say in the Army, that it gives the advantage to reason over weapons. Incidentally, it should also guarantee that the world learn the real truth about the Yugocataclysm, that is, that part of the world interested in the truth. The entire population of Kninska Krajina, Lika, Banija, Kordun, and Slavonia, and especially people for whom Tudjman's word is no guarantee, they say in the Army—can continue in the future to count on the resolution and high combat readiness of the Army.

Concentric Circles

We have also had occasion to hear confirmation of all this from Maj. Gen. Slavko Jovic, an experienced commander of the blue helmets, who explained that communications officers on the Yugoslav side will be in Dalj,

Sid, Bihac, Knin, and Bileca during the peacekeeping operation, and on the Croatian side in Osijek, Zagreb, Bjelovar, Karlovac, Krasno Polje, Zadar, and Dubrovnik.

The blue helmets will be deployed on the principle of concentric circles, and the last circle will be the so-called line of contact between the belligerents. Border ramps will be built on the last circle and will be manned by two sentries around-the-clock. Their duty will be to halt and check vehicles and pedestrians and ensure order. These solutions, they say in army circles, although in Croatia they say that the arrival of the peacekeeping forces actually signifies a defeat for Serbia and the Serbs, and naturally for the JNA, suits the Yugoslav and Serbian side, because the UN forces are deployed from the border of Krajina with Serbia all the way to the border with Croatia. That means that the Serbian people and JNA are ceasing to wage war, and they can consolidate their power in those areas. In Kninska Krajina, for instance, the krajina police remains, and the territorial defense forces are only demobilizing, not disbanding, as some say.

From what we have managed to learn, the JNA is withdrawing to the border of Krajina, that is, only some 30 km from the krajina capital, whence it will be tactically prepared for its defense in case of aggression. However, it is said, it will respond quickly and with full ferocity if there are any surprises on the Croatian side, because in Krajina there will now be no obstacle nor minefield, nor will the people itself be against the penetration of the JNA. It is also added that of the 36,000 soldiers in Kninska Krajina, almost 28,000 are natives of these areas. So, there is no possibility, it is said, from the standpoint of military strategy, of the Serbian people being driven out of these areas.

We still do not know what will happen in the other areas and where the JNA garrisons and units will be stationed. But there is the possibility that the "shuttling" of the JNA will cause new conflicts, in Bosnia, for instance, because certain officials in that republic say that the Army must leave there immediately, while Marko Negovanovic, Serbian defense minister, says that the JNA will remain in Bosnia-Hercegovina regardless of the results of the referendum.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

EC Peace Conference Resumes in Sarajevo

LD1603190192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1113 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Mar 16 (TANJUG)—The fifth round of talks on the future status and organization of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina started today in the republican capital Sarajevo under the sponsorhip of the European Community. The conference, which is taking place behind closed doors, is chaired by Portuguese Ambassador Jose Cutilheiro. The delegations of the three leading national parties which make up the ruling coalition in Bosnia-Hercegovina are attending in the same composition as in the previous round in Brussels. Alija Izetbegovic, the president of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and leader of the Muslim Democratic Action Party (SDA), has announced that "this round may last two or three days, i.e. until some controversial issues have been settled."

Before the start of the session, Izetbegovic said that a declaration adopted by the European Community and the United States which announced their joint action for resolving the Yugoslav crisis "will significantly influence" the further course of the talks but did not elaborate. He added, however, that "internal agreement" among the representatives of the republic's three constituent nations "is much more important at present."

Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) leader Radovan Karadzic said that undefined national areas in Bosnia-Hercegovina were the chief problem in the talks. Mate Boban, the representative of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), said he believed the talks would last long and that "assistance from the international community" would be needed. In the fifth round of talks, the representatives of Muslims, who account for about 43 per cent of Bosnia-Hercegovina's overall population, Serbs (32 per cent) and Croats (17 per cent) will review an amended E.C. proposal for the future constitutional order in the republic.

In Brussels, the Serb delegation rejected Ambassador Cutilheiro's proposal which envisages the creation of a federal state divided into several national units with a strong central authority, while the Muslims and Croats approved the plan in principle but requested that some corrections be made. Serbs and Croats do not accept a Muslim demand for a unitarian state for fear that they would be outvoted. Serbs insist on a confederation, while Croats say they would not oppose a loose federation.

No Progress Reported

AU1703103392 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Mujo Delibegovic report]

[Excerpt] Judging by today's beginning of the fifth round of the talks on the future constitution of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the statements by the leaders of the delegations upon their arrival to Konak villa, the ruling parties maintain their earlier stands. The delegation of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] cannot go below the minimum set by the Assembly of the Serbian People [in Bosnia-Hercegovina], its leader Radovan Karadzic said. This means cantonization according to the ethnic principle, and more power to the constituent units.

Mate Boban assessed in the name of the delegation of the Croatian Democratic Community that this will certainly not be the last meeting and that more significant aid from abroad is needed. However, Alija Izetbegovic

maintained the position that Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot be divided according to the ethnic principle and that the majority of the Bosnia-Hercegovina residents are opposed to this. If no agreement is reached, then Izetbegovic proposes new elections and citizens' referendum on the constitution of the republic. Izetbegovic believes that the issue of army and police will prevail at the fifth session of the conference.

As the talks are being held behind closed doors, the information that we obtained is unofficial, but with high degree of likeliness. After today's short plenary session, bilateral talks were held with the delegations of the ruling parties. We have learned that in these talks the SDS delegation demanded that everything be returned back to the Lisbon document, which means, to the very beginning and to the option of ethnic cantons.

During the break, EC Ambassador Jose Cutilheiro also talked with the representatives of the parliamentary opposition. A general assessment by the representatives of these parties was that the EC ambassador talked to them in a different manner, allowing them to engage in a dialogue and not only in a presentation of their views. [passage omitted]

JNA Claims Croatian Forces Allegedly in Mostar

LD1603144792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1223 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Mostar, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—Colonel Milojko Pantelic, commander of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] garrison in Mostar, told an emergency session of the National Defense Council of the Mostar Municipal Assembly today that the military authorities have reliable information that members of the regular units of the Croatian armed forces and Croatian paramilitary units are in the town preparing diversionary actions and other activities aimed at causing armed conflict in the town.

While not questioning the justified citizens' revolt over incidents caused by reservists, Col Pantelic warned that the latest barricades in Mostar are being used by such extremists as a part of a plan to instigate conflicts with the army—that is, to draw the army away from the town.

Col Pantelic called on all competent authorities and political factors to take measures within their competence to foil such destructive plans, which are threatening Mostar with mass bloodshed.

Investigation of Colonel's Disappearance Begins

LD1603155592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Mostar, 16 Mar (TANJUG)— Military authorities in Mostar have revealed that Colonel Zoran Lazarevic, stationed in Capljina garrison, disappeared without trace from the village of Gabela near Capljina yesterday. Danilo Spahic, a civilian from the Tasovici village, also vanished along with Col. Lazarevic. They disappeared when they were returning from a visit to a remote military outpost in Gabela. The military authorities informed the Mostar security center and Capljina police station about the incident. The necessary investigations are under way.

Rail Link With Serbia Disrupted by Sabotage

LD1603150292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Zvornik, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—Traffic on the new Tuzla-Zvornik rail line has been disrupted since Saturday evening as a result of sabotage. This is the second such act in the past month. On Saturday, unidentified perpetrators removed tracks four kms from the village of Kalesije, as a result of which an engine pulling two freight cars was derailed damaging about 20 meters of track. A group of as yet unidentified civilians, threatening to use arms, foiled an attempt by rail workers to repair the damage and restore traffic. Since this is the only rail link between Bosnia-Hercegovina and Serbia, several freight cars are standing on both sides of the damaged tracks.

Serbs, Croats Clash in Bosanski Brod

AU1603145492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Zivko Savkovic report]

[Text] Armed clashes and negotiations on the peaceful settlement of the crisis are taking place simultaneously in Bosanski Brod. The talks started at about 1300. At approximately 1420 the Croatian occupying forces attacked the part of the town populated by Serbs. In addition to being attacked with infantry weapons, the Serbian settlement around Stadium Street was also hit by several bombs. One can still hear shooting there. Miroslav Radovanovic, leader of the Crisis Headquarters of the Serbian Commune of Bosanski Brod, and Ivan Brizic, head of the Croatian occupying forces, addressed the peoples, that is, the warring sides, via radio.

It is expected that the shooting will soon stop. However, it will be really hard to predict the outcome of the talks on peaceful resolution of the crisis in Bosanski Brod. We also must add that the EC observers mission is standing between the two warring sides like a (?mediator).

Truce Established

LD1603225292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2223 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—As reported by Sarajevo Radio, the Bosanski Brod Information Center has announced that late tonight the armed clashes have ceased in this town and that a truce has been established between the two parts of the town. The Center, however, does not have any information whether there were any casualties or wounded in today's clashes during which mortars were used. Tomorrow, the government will

examine the causes of the clashes in Bosanski Brod and the possibilities of resolving them.

Ramifications of Cantonization Detailed

92BA0604D Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 92 p 9

[Article by E. Petronijevic: "Ticket for a Canton, Anyone?"]

[Text] Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H] certainly has at least one "awkward" characteristic, and that is that however you divide it, you will have in its borders about a million and a half people "wrongly classified." Because it does not have a single opstina (as they now stand) in which each of the constituent nationalities does not have at least a few of its representatives, it is impossible to draw clean ethnic borders through it without also drawing in a considerable number of "those who don't belong."

One of the imagined (and now more and more promising) autonomous units within any future Bosnia-Hercegovina would certainly be Bosanska Krajina. If we take into account only its relatively firm Serbian core of some 19 opstinas where the Serbs have some kind of majority (absolute or relative), we can see right away at least some of the difficulties of future cantonization. Those 19 opstinas, that is, have a population of more than 700,000 in which the Serbs represent 63.4 percent. Within these borders, then, an absolute majority. However, it is impossible to overlook the percentages of the others, which are not exactly negligible—Muslims represent 18.5 percent, Croats 9.9 percent, and all others (among them, the always significant number of Yugoslavs) 8.2 percent.

A Changeable Pattern

The pattern of Bosanska Krajina will immediately change if we add to it Cazin Krajina, which in fact does belong to it geographically, and by and large no one is leaving it out of plans for turning Bosanska Krajina into an SAO [Serbian Autonomous Oblast]. The six opstinas of this region, which in general is predominantly Muslim, have a population in excess of 400,000. Muslims have an absolute majority with 66.7 percent, but neither can we neglect the percentage of Serbs (24.5), Croats (4.1), and all others (4.7). The previous portion of Bosanska Krajina, combined with it, would have a population of slightly more than 1.122 million, and then Serbs would still be the largest group, but they would have only a plurality of 48.9 percent. There would be considerably more Muslims in this structure than before (36.5 percent), while the share of Croats would decrease negligibly (to 7.7 percent).

Another "pure" Serbian SAO would be the one in eastern Hercegovina. Its six opstinas (although it is difficult to speak of opstinas in all these cases, because the borders of ethnic SAO's are not always respected) have a population of more than 92,000, in which Serbs are again an absolute majority of 61.9 percent. They are followed by Muslims (25.2 percent), Croats (8.3 percent), and others (4.6 percent).

So that the Croats would not feel cheated of their piece of Bosnia (or rather Hercegovina), it is calculated that western Hercegovina will be theirs, that is, the so-called Croatian Herceg-Bosnia. In it, there are 10 more or less "pure" Croatian opstinas with a total of more than 220,000 inhabitants. The Croats in them comprise 82.6 percent of the total population, while Muslims represent 11.7 percent, Serbs 3.9 percent, and others 1.8 percent. If we add to this some other opstinas in which the Croatian nationality is substantially represented, the picture would change somewhat to the "detriment" of the Croats. Because there are combinations in which opstinas like Mostar, Stolac, Konjic, and Jablanica would be added to Herceg-Bosnia, in this case the Croats would still have an absolute majority, but it would be considerably reduced to 59.8 percent.

Mostar the Most Critical

Now that it has already been mentioned, we should say that Mostar is the most critical point in separation of eastern and western Hercegovina. Belonging to no one in particular (Croats 33.8 percent, Muslims 34.8 percent, Serbs 19 percent, and others 12.4 percent), there is a risk that someone might get the idea of dividing it into the left and right bank of the Neretva.

Another SAO in B-H, one whose borders are particularly difficult to establish, because they change from day to day, is the so-called SAO Romanija. It consists of opstinas in Sarajevo and environs, both those in which the Serbs make up a majority and those others. It might be said, however, that this "canton" would have more than 220,000 inhabitants with an equal share of Serbs and Muslims (39 percent each), with a few Croats (about 8 percent), and a 14-percent share for all others.

A portion of four Croatian opstinas in the north of Bosnia along the Sava River and also Serbian Semberija in a wedge between the Sava and Drina are also separate ethnic enclaves in B-H. The former, with a population of about 125,000, has 52.9 percent Croats, 11.5 percent Muslims, 28.2 percent Serbs, and 7.4 percent others. In the Serbian "canton," with a total population of about 154,000, there are 58.1 percent Serbs, 34.2 percent Muslims, 1.2 percent Croats, and 6.5 percent others.

Other B-H opstinas, of which there are a total of 95, are mainly inhabited by a Muslim majority. There are, however, exceptions. Those are six opstinas in which the Croats have a majority (a total of 46 percent), and eight opstinas with a Serbian majority (which in the total population of those opstinas have a share of about 50 percent). Altogether, in this still undistributed remainder of Bosnia-Hercegovina there is a population of almost 2.3 million, distributed as follows: Muslims 54.3 percent, Serbs 22.5 percent, Croats 15.2 percent, and all others 8 percent.

Croatia

State Council's Views on Current Issues

LD1603214592 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Statement issued by Croatian Supreme State Council session on 16 March]

[Text] The session examined the cooperation that government bodies of the Republic of Croatia have so far had with UN Protection Force Commander General Satish Nambiar and other representatives of the civilian and police sections of the UN peacekeeping force. According to reports made by Dr. Milan Ramljak, Croatian vice premier and chairman of the government's Committee for Relations with the UN peacekeeping Force; General Anton Tus, chief of staff of the Croatian Army; and Ivan Vekic, minister of internal affairs, the Republic of Croatia has created all organizational, political, and military conditions for the implementation of the peacekeeping process in the Republic of Croatia, and for complete and open cooperation with units and the command of the international peacekeeping force in order to achieve full-scale reestablishment of peace and a gradual transition to a regular legal and legitimate system of civilian authority in the crisis areas.

According to talks held so far with commanders of the UN peacekeeping force, in which both sides concluded that the reestablishment of a lasting peace is the basic and common task, it is clear that the specific plan for the implementation of the peace operation on the territory of the Republic of Croatia cannot be called into question just because of a series of specific technical solutions and the implementation of the peace agreement [sentence as heard].

A positive conclusion was made that these issues have also been handled gradually, and this is also confirmed by the fact that the UN organization has opened an account with the Zagreb Bank for the forces which are to participate in the peace operation. Particular stress was laid on the fact that the implementation of the peace operation should not be considered outside political solutions endorsed by the Brussels peace conference. Certain political doubts and interpretations raised by representatives of the Republic of Serbia, and also by illegal bodies of former Yugoslavia, stem from misunderstanding of the real role of the peacekeeping force on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

The session of the Supreme State Council stressed that the exclusive task of the UN peacekeeping force is to achieve a lasting peace; and at the same time, within the framework of the Brussels conference, in cooperation and with the agreement of the United States, the process of political settlement of the crisis in former Yugoslavia should be finalized. In this connection the basic position of important international factors is widely known—they deny the possibility of changing state borders through the use of force, without the agreement of all sides; the European Community and a number of countries all over the world have taken a clear and positive stand regarding recognition of the Republic of Croatia.

However, formally and legally, the Republic of Croatia has not yet become a member of the UN organization and therefore it is important to speed up the work of the Brussels conference for the peace operation to succeed. This is particularly important as regards the need to gradually reestablish civilian authority on currently occupied territories of the Republic of Croatia, to insure the urgent return of all refugees and displaced persons to their homes, and to reestablish all regular transport communications and economic links in the Republic of Croatia.

It was also stressed that hegemonistic political interests in Bosnia-Hercegovina present a serious threat to the entire peace process, and it is therefore important to carry out the whole plan for the implementation of the peace operation as soon as possible.

Examining the implementation of the constitutional law on national communities or minorities, particularly in connection with the position of the Serbian citizens of the Republic of Croatia, the Supreme State Council concluded that the law has not been fully respected and that the procrastination in establishing a lasting peace and civilian authority seriously threatens the stability of the democratic and law-governed state of Croatia. This is confirmed by a series of attacks on Croatian citizens and their property, on Croats, Serbs and other nations. In this instance, cases where the safety of Serbs in Croatia is threatened cause particularly unfavorable reactions and have bad consequences.

In accordance with laws and democratic principles of observing all human and national rights, Croatian government bodies have instituted criminal proceedings against 4,576 citizens from areas that are not under direct jurisdiction of the Republic of Croatia, who are suspected of committing serious criminal acts and thus contributing to the flaring up of the aggression against the Republic of Croatia. The number is not final, but at the same time the Supreme State Council holds that in the forthcoming period those participants in the aggression against Croatia who were mobilized by force should be pardoned.

The Supreme State Council maintains that regular organs of authority must immediately take strict and uncompromising legal measures against all those who have violated legal regulations. The Ministry of Internal Affairs is expected to take most severe disciplinary measures against responsible officials who fail to efficiently and fully resolve cases of criminal threats against citizens' lives and property.

In this context the need was stressed for setting in motion a comprehensive and legal process of disarming the civilian population. The Supreme State Council supported a proposed initiative by citizens of the Republic of Croatia to set up citizens' peace councils

with the task of restoring an atmosphere of intranational tolerance, understanding, and togetherness among citizens. In this context, the Council stressed the importance of the role of the media especially as regards the need to encourage eminent Croatian citizens of Serbian nationality to publicly and democratically articulate their specific and general political and other interests in the Republic of Croatia.

The Council said that any possible attempts to resurrect the problems which had caused the war in Croatia should be exposed by means of democratic and political dialogue. To this end the constitutional law on national communities or minorities should be fully implemented, with the help of the media.

With reference to the problems raised by the law on counties of the Republic of Croatia, the Supreme State Council placed special emphasis on the fact that particular attention was paid to both historical and economic reasons when drawing up proposals on the Republic of Croatia's territorial organization and to the logical necessity for economic links and inter-dependence within the Republic of Croatia and beyond. It was, however, said that debate on the county-based system should continue in the interests of general political stability in the Republic of Croatia, the statement from the session of the Supreme State Council says.

Paraga Rejects Accusations, Attacks Tudjman

AU1703114692 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 17 Mar 92 p 6

[EST report: "Career of a Dissident"]

[Text] Dobroslav Paraga, son of a Croatian lawyer with a strictly Catholic education, was arrested for the first time in 1981 because the law student had written a petition for political prisoners. Later the civil rights activist went abroad and came into contact with extreme-right Croatian emigrants in the United States.

After his return, thoroughly radicalized, he founded the Croatian Rights Party HSP and established the armed militia "HOS" ("Croatian Defense Alliance"), which is said to have a strength of up to 10,000 men. Paraga criticized Croatia's defense policy as "too soft," while President Franjo Tudjman, for his part, held Paraga responsible—including in an interview with DER STANDARD—for human rights violations. During the war, his units "committed crimes" against the invading Serbs to "compromise the democratic government," he said.

In a letter to DER STANDARD, Paraga commented on these accusations. "Precisely President Tudjman is most responsible for the abuse of power and the violation of human rights in Croatia," claimed Paraga, who even blames the government for the death of his deputy, Ante Paradzik. The list of his complaints comprises the "production of more than 200 members of our party for interrogation, several weeks' imprisonment in illegal prisons without judicial investigations, the prohibition of public meetings and petitions, and finally my arrest." "Tudjman accused me of having prepared a coup and a military putsch," Paraga writes. But it is a "generally known fact that I was twice adopted as a prisoner of conscience by 'Amnesty International' and that the U.S. Congress passed a resolution on my efforts for human rights in 1989." Thus, Paraga sees himself on the same level with Nobel Prize winner Andrey Sakharov. "On 26 February 1992 a new politically orientated lawsuit started in the Zagreb district court, the fifth in the 31 years of my life. The public prosecutor accuses me of allegedly 'propagating incorrect news' because I said in a Croatian newspaper (SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, Split) that the unconditional signing of the The Hague treaty, without having briefed the Croatian Government, means the sale and betrayal of national Croatian interests. According to the law, I am in for five years' imprisonment."

138 Arrested on Armed Revolt, Genocide Charges

LD1603181192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1305 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Zadar police authorities have indicted 138 people—members of Serbian guerilla formations, the Yugoslav Army and the so-called Krajina police—on charges of armed revolt, genocide, and the forceful evacuation of the Croatian inhabitants in the Benkovac and Obrovac districts.

Separovic Interviewed on Croatian Foreign Policy

92BA0616A Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 92 pp 6-7

[Interview with Dr. Zvonimir Separovic, minister of foreign affairs of Croatia, by Olga Ramljak; place and date not given: "Minister Without Gloves"—first paragraph is SLOBODNA DALMACIJA introduction]

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Zvonimir Separovic explains for SLOBODNA DALMACIJA how he "remained" at his post despite a confusing interview with Dr. Mate Granic, he clarifies misunderstandings with Dr. Hrvoj Kacic and the minister of foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia, and cites details of the agreement that the Republic of Croatia and the United Nations should conclude.

The minister of foreign affairs, Dr. Zvonimir Separovic, recently returned from a seven-day stay in New York and announced an official visit to Vienna at the beginning of March, while a so-called long Eastern tour follows next. All this is accompanied by considerable "uproar" on the domestic political scene about the status of the minister. All the dilemmas about this have been eliminated of late. Minister Separovic is continuing a successful diplomatic career in his present post, as he says himself, until further notice.

The arrival of the UN peacekeeping forces is the main preoccupation of both the politicians and every citizen of Croatia. Minister Separovic recently announced the signing of an agreement between the Republic of Croatia and the United Nations. "What does this agreement contain?" we ask Dr. Separovic.

[Separovic] The content of this agreement is not yet specific, but we assume that it will have the usual formula. It is essential that the United Nations come, that they calm down the situation and maintain peace in the area that is disputed for one reason or another. It is good for us that their arrival is preceded by a firm guarantee that their arrival will not prejudice a future political solution, but it is bad that they are coming after the aggression, that they are establishing peace and order by hoisting the blue flag and bringing enough forces to protect themselves, but without the authority to vote for peace. With the presence of their peacekeeping forces, the United Nations will create a situation where the potential for battle will be withdrawn from that area because, based on the principle of chain reaction, they will push out the JNA [Yugoslav Peoples' Army] and other irregular forces. They will thereby demilitarize this area and a sole military force will remain in it, with the authority of the United Nations. The small forces that remain—there the problems begin—will be equipped with sidearms, and as if this is minor matter, problems with the surrendering of weapons should be added to this. There will certainly be problems with concealed weapons, and with the checking of the surrendering, which the UN peacekeeping forces will perform.

Can Martic Remain?

Problems begin with the formation of local self-administration and authority, although the establishment of UN authority, which will replace Croatian sovereignty in presently occupied territories, is a victory for justice and Croatia and a success for international legal order.

[Ramljak] How will problems in this transitional period be overcome, especially in view of the formula for retaining local authority and police?

[Separovic] The UN peacekeeping forces will encounter outlaw order and now the question is how and to what extent it will remain, can a Martic remain in Knin? In our opinion there is neither a moral nor an international right to this. What should be realized is that if the sovereignty of Croatia disappears in that area, the authority of the so-called Krajinas outside the districts will certainly disappear also. Everything should be done to make that transitional period as short as possible and to establish order—as has been agreed on—in the formula for the arrival of the peacekeeping forces, on the creation of local authority and a police that will correspond in terms of national composition to the structure before the eruption of conflicts. Croatia will firmly persevere with its stand that aggression cannot be rewarded and is not worthwhile, as Europe has also said. Europe is expressly against the recognition of a fait accompli (the status quo of the current situation).

We need patience here. It is clear that we cannot join the UN peacekeeping forces, but also that this is precisely the source of our anxiety and fear. We object to the interpretation, as was published once in THE NEW YORK TIMES, that the blue helmets are coming to protect the Serbian minority. We regard such a view as scandalous. The peacekeeping forces are coming to restore peace, to make Serbs and Croats safe, but especially Croats who have been driven out.

We must also resolve the question of how to break the psychological barriers for persecuted Croats, how to return proud but humiliated people to Vukovar, Kijevo, and everywhere from whence they have been driven out. But let the blue flag be a symbol of peace and freedom.

We do not expect the exchange of local authority and police powers to be resolved instantaneously, but we must emphasize immediately that, in the creation of a formula for returning people to their homes, the principle that there will be no forced return should stand firmly. Return remains a free matter for a person, to decide where he will live. It is up to us to do everything possible so that the selection of personnel be as quick as possible and that, for example, there be no renegade in the police in Skabrnja with a sidearm as a preserver of order after he participated in a horrible massacre of innocent inhabitants of that place. The UN peacekeeping forces must also assist in the creation of a mechanism for selection of personnel and their deployment according to the demographic picture that prevailed before the eruption of hostilities. The Serbian element will also have an important role in this. Croatia has never claimed, nor is it doing so now, despite bad experiences with bad individuals, that Serbs are an evil people by nature and a genocidal people. We see loyal Serbs around us who accept Croatia as their homeland and as its loyal citizens. It is now up to them to speak out in the delicate process of returning exiles and establishing the demographic balance that has been destroyed.

The 1974 Constitution Is Worthwhile

We must emphasize for the security of our citizens that an international police order is also coming with the soldiers, because policemen are coming with the 13,000 UN troops. There are world police forces and our police forces in Knin, in Petrnja, in Vukovar. Such international order that will come where there is now Serbian Chetnik order will minimize and cancel their authority. There the Serbs in Croatia have a capital role in exposing the negative results of Chetnik crimes, as Croatia did just by reporting the creation of profascist forces.

[Ramljak] What will the role of the government office for relations with UN peacekeeping forces be in this?

[Separovic] The government vice president, renowned expert, and politician Dr. Milan Ramljak is at the head of this office. The office encompasses various ministries,

and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is represented by a deputy minister. The office will be a link with the United Nations. Along with this, the safe and peaceful arrival of the peacekeeping forces in Croatia will be provided for and the peaceful face of the Croatian people will be shown. Teams of interpreters are already being formed. Various matters will probably be initiated. Unfortunately, we must expect some negative ones, from war profiteers to representatives of the oldest profession. It is a responsible and delicate task to create all preconditions for fitting them into the area in which they arrive. Increased specific tourism in Croatia connected to the arrival of the peacekeeping forces can also be expected. The office will be located in Zagreb, and it will have its detached sections throughout Croatia.

[Ramljak] What was decided about the kind of money that will be handled in the crisis area?

[Separovic] The main body of the UN forces will be in Croatia and it will be a matter of our skill how we will proceed in relation to financial questions. A right on which we insist, namely, monetary sovereignty, but also the skill with which we implement it are in question. We request the world to do what is logical and fair, and we will impose this in the agreement.

[Ramljak] There have also been many questions about legal intercession in those areas. Whose legal regime will be implemented?

[Separovic] The model of law will be applied that existed at the moment independence was proclaimed, and that will show that the original authority under the 1974 Constitution fell to the republics, i.e., Croatia, with some exceptions. The United Nations cannot go past this, therefore, no one can recognize for some invented outlaw legal order with quasi-assemblies of some Krajinas.

Misunderstandings in Prague

[Ramljak] It has been rumored that you have had misunderstandings with Prague. What is this really about?

[Separovic] The minister of foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Dintsbir, has a rather unfavorable relationship with Croatia. He stated that he cannot recognize Croatia because it does not control its territory and because it does not give guarantees for the realization of minority rights, that he will visit Ljubljana, but not Zagreb, although Europe with its actions has shown him the opposite. Czechoslovakia has not sent us just the first soccer ball to Hajduk, but has educated our first intellectuals; that is the only Slavic country that has achieved democracy, that has emerged from socialism without firing a shot. We congratulate them for this, but we are all the more sorry about the policy of restraint shown. I protested. Who wouldn't in my place? It is said that I was tactless in diplomacy, but we have friendly relations with the Czechs. That's direct diplomacy, in which there was no need for a game with gloves. Croatia has a moral right to request that Czechoslovakia follow our fate. I don't doubt that this country, which is friendly with us, will do all that is necessary in this regard.

[Ramljak] They regard you as the most successful among many ministers of foreign affairs, but the greatest commotion also accompanies you: A successor replaces you prematurely, a parliamentary colleague involves himself in your business, negotiations with Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina are held in the absence of your ministry. What do you say to all that?

[Separovic] Only the president of the Republic can carry out the replacement of ministers. That hasn't happened, as you know. Therefore, no one has replaced this minister. I am staying here until further notice, undisturbed—as I have already stated. I remain with the trust that I will continue to work as I have up to now both outside the country and on the reorganization of the ministry at home. The interviews of Mr. Mate Granic are his business, but otherwise I think very highly of him.

His remark, which led to these questions, is not outside the context of what has already been talked about in the leadership. I agreed, and I repeat this, that I would be able to lead the Croatian mission to the United Nations if it comes to this. As you know, it has not yet come to this.

Neither Thanks Nor Forgiveness

My misunderstanding with my dear colleague and friend, which resulted from his interview with SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, is a sharp one. I am sorry that Mr. Hrvoje Kacic and I have differed on things that are in effect a political judgement. I can say that in this whole complex of Dubrovnik, without a polemical remark: I am convinced that it was neither necessary to negotiate nor to talk at the invitation of the Montenegrin Parliament to the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia at a time when they were shooting at the ramparts of Dubrovnik. That was not a time for talks about the borders between Croatia and Montenegro in Trebinje either, let alone in Titograd.

I also said that it was not good to take the Croatian flag down from Minceta, and that I was right was shown by the fact that the enemy shot at Minceta even when the blue flag was on it. I did more for Dubrovnik than others in my position would have done, but I'm not sorry nor do I seek thanks, and it certainly is not necessary to seek an excuse or forgiveness. I spoke from The Hague with Dubrovnik when all other connections with that city had been broken off at the most critical time, I spoke with De Michelis, in Venice, with Mr. Mock and Genscher at every hour of the day and night in order to save Dubrovnik. I also criticized those to whom I confirmed that Peljesac and Korcula should be defended at Slano, and not under the Dubrovnik boardwalk.

I deeply respect the person and function of the president of the assembly council for foreign policy, except for a difference of opinion—I'm not reproaching him for

anything, and the future will show that one of us was right. No one can doubt the good intentions of both.

As to Graza and the talks that were held there, they were informal talks that do not change or take anything away, but on the contrary, they enrich foreign policy activities. Prof. Zvonko Lerotic was very much present at the conference in The Hague and Brussels, but more than that too, while Mr. Josip Manolic never came out from beyond politics.

These meetings are of great importance at this time for us.

Foreign policy should not be comprehended, nor can it exist only on a formal level with the formality of official protocol. Policy is developing everywhere. Our diplomacy is transmitted, especially at time of war, strongly and very effectively from many sources of this ministry.

This is the way many from the government applied diplomacy in their own fashion, from the university, from scientific institutions, and especially from our sad and dear diaspora and our many friends all over the world.

When it comes to informal talks, how do you appreciate Karadzic's suggestions about the Obrovac corridor and the transferral of the Obrovac populace to Konavle, and the people of Konavle to the Obrovac area?

Prevlaka Is Croatian

I consider Mr. Karadzic's suggestions so absurd that there is no reason for a reply. But while we are already on the subject, no one can claim a foot of Croatian land, and Montenegro can't get Prevlaka or Konavle. I accept that the talks could have gone in the direction of convincing Montenegrins that Croatia will not build or maintain military bases anywhere that they could be perceived as a threat or disturbance to free trade with other, neighboring countries. One can talk about Prevlaka the same way as about a lighthouse on Savudrija or a sea border between Slovenia and Montenegro. International law and the law of the sea will make a reply to this, and this is a good theme for the colleague and specialist in this sector, Prof. Davorin Rudolf. With this I have passed the baton and you can continue the conversation on these questions with him.

[Box, p 6]

Acceptance Into the United Nations

During talks with Minister Separovic, the editorial staff of THE NEW YORK TIMES wanted to clarify who negotiated this in Graz, and how the request by the Republic of Croatia for acceptance into the United Nations fared.

"We have not submitted a request for acceptance into the United Nations," replied Minister Separovic, "but a letter of intent to do so when a consensus on it is reached."

[Box, p 6]

The Nonaligned

Croatia does not intend to tie itself particularly to one country, but to conduct a universal foreign policy of good relations with all. Because of this, Croatia is attempting primarily to establish good-neighbor relations with its neighboring countries, then with countries in which there is a large share of the Croatia diaspora, with Europe, to which it belongs, but also with all others. The latest diplomatic offensive from the Foreign Ministry is geared toward nonaligned countries. Minister Separovic has had constructive talks with the president of Zimbabwe in the United Nations, as well as with the Nigerian ambassador. There will soon follow a visit to Djakarta and New Delhi, now practically the presiding countries of the nonaligned and the largest and most influential among them. Previously unfriendly nonaligned countries are showing more and more understanding for Croatia. This is confirmed by details of a conversation with the Nigerian ambassador in the United Nations. Nigeria is building a large 34-story skyscraper only 150 meters from the UN building in New York. The conversation dealt in principle with the space that the future Croatian mission to the United Nations could obtain in this building.

[Box, p 6]

How He Got to Ghali

Among talks of capital importance in his diplomatic career, Minister Separovic places the conversation with Mr. James Baker and Boutros Ghali, as well as the meeting with the minister of Iceland, Mr. Hanibalson.

Mr. Separovic supported his exceptionally favorable assessment of the meetings with U.S. Secretary Baker, especially the three-hour conversation in Prague, by stating that there are signs that the United States will recognize four republics on the territory of the former Yugoslavia in March, after the arrival of the UN peacekeeping forces in Croatia.

He began his relationship with the UN general secretary, Boutros Ghali, with the world congress of lawyers that was held in Zagreb, and the name of a mutual friend, the late Professor Andrasij, was an admission ticket for Separovic with Ghali. Not only an admission ticket, but, believes Dr. Separovic, understanding for Croatian arguments.

The Croatian minister calls particular attention to the important role of the minister of the distant and small country of Iceland, Mr. Hanibalson. To his credit, that country first recognized Croatia and first expressed readiness to establish full diplomatic relations with the state of Croatia.

[Box, p 7]

Islam

Announcing a movement in Croatian policy toward the Islamic world, minister Separovic especially emphasized the important role of the high religious dignitary Sevko Omerbasic. Specifically, Mr. Omerbasic opened the door to the diplomatic action of minister Separovic in Ankara; this proved to be a strong, genuine political-diplomatic move, since Ankara regarded highly the volunteer contribution of imam Omerbasic in Croatia's battle for recognition.

Deputy Minister on Croatian Border Police

92BA0609A Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 28 Feb 92 p 5

[Interview with Josko Moric, assistant minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Croatia, by D. Miljus in Zagreb; date not given: "The Border—Secure and Open"]

[Text] In the session of the Assembly on 21 February, Croatia, like any sovereign state, adopted the Law on Supervision of the State Border. In this area essential to any state, Croatia will again follow European achievements. We spoke with Josko Moric, assistant minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Croatia, who recently took part in the conversation between Slovene and Croatian representatives in Ljubljana about what this specifically means—about how the Croatian border will be secured and its crossing monitored (its total length is 3,000 km, of which 1,200 km are "blue"—the border at sea—making Croatia first in Europe with respect to the length of its borders with its neighbors).

With Good Neighbors—An Open Border

Recently, the border police were transferred to the Croatian police with the new organization. Mr. Josko Moric spoke about what police functions are referred to.

"I must say at once that securing the border and monitoring the crossing of the border are two different jobs, and they will not be done by the same people. The national border is guarded along its entire length, while it is monitored at places designated as border crossings. We have opted for the new conception of securing the national border—it will not be guarded by the Army, but by the police, as in all modern democratic states, and not on the 'line,' but on transportation routes, including forest roads and field roads.

"I would recall that earlier there existed the Bolshevik category 'border zone.' While the border was guarded by the so-called JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], that is, there was a zone 100 meters deep from the border line, and within it everything and everyone was under surveillance. There were also secret orders under which that zone could be broadened by agreement between the SSUP [Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs] and SSNO [Federal Secretariat for National Defense] of that time, and this was not published anywhere.

"The Croatian border will not be guarded by trained dogs, and there will be no devices on it for opening fire automatically. But this does not mean that Croatian borders will not be secure and that anarchy will prevail on them."

A Liberal Regime Is Not Anarchy

[Miljus] The law that has been passed basically contains all the prerequisites for the liberal border regime. What does that specifically mean?

[Moric] The border regime is always a consequence of relations between two states, and it is regulated by intergovernmental agreement. For example, in Ljubljana we recently agreed with our Slovene colleagues about a liberal border regime. We will also try to establish that kind of border regime with Hungary. But for well-known reasons, Croatia will for a time have an asymmetrical border regime on its borders. It is well known that Croatia is being attacked from Serbia, Montenegro, and to some extent even from Bosnia and Hercegovina. That is why we will have a different border regime with Serbia, Montenegro, and parts of the border with B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina]. We must be more restrictive, we must secure the national border in a different way, because we assume that every illegal entry from those areas would be basically malicious. We will also have to take a different stance in monitoring the crossing of the Croatian national border and check passengers, goods, and vehicles in more detail.

[Miljus] There were protests on both sides of the border between Croatia and B-H when the border was set up at Kamensko. Can you clarify exactly what this was about?

[Moric] It seems to me that the concept of a liberal border regime is being wrongly interpreted. This does not mean that there are no borders, that anarchy is permitted. That is precluded. We conceive the border—and we behave accordingly—as a line marking the territory, the sovereignty of the state.

Second, the liberal border regime does not mean that the border is not marked, that there is no monitoring. All of of that exists, but in order to guarantee all the rights of the citizens who cross the border. This means that the checks are not an obstacle to them. That in local border traffic an individual is not checked a dozen times every day. But sometimes they nevertheless have to be checked. For example, we agreed with the colleagues in Slovenia that we would not make any problems for the population living immediately along both sides of the border. But, I repeat, that does not mean that you can just walk across the border any time you like.

Cooperation With the "Blue Helmets"

[Miljus] The blue helmets will soon come into certain areas of Croatia, including the border areas. What will be the task of the Croatian police in this regard, especially the border police?

[Moric] Among other things, the Croatian police will be guaranteeing law and order over the entire territory of the Republic of Croatia, organizing the local police, reestablishing police stations and administration in the temporarily occupied areas. Part of the job has already been done, and part of it is under way. For example, we have filed criminal charges against a majority of the persons for whom we have unambiguous evidence that they have committed war crimes or other punishable acts; also for the so-called Marticites.

We will help the UN peacekeeping forces in their own security and in securing structures, in traffic control, in demilitarization of the areas where they are going. It is well known that these forces also include 530 police observers.

[Miljus] What about border control in those areas, and what is the role of the border police in that?

[Moric] I intentionally did not emphasize that. Paragraph 1 of Article 3 of the law states: "The Ministry of Internal Affairs protects the national border over its entire length and is responsible for the affairs of border control." The matter, then, is clear, there is no dilemma whatsoever about that.

Babic Fears Civil War in Krajina

92BA0616B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Mar 92 p 19

[Article by S. Ristic: "Babic: I Fear Civil War"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] Press conference in the International Press Center. The replaced leader of Krajina attacks Milosevic. According to Dr. Babic, the assembly held in Borovo Selo is revenge for disobedience. Meetings with some leaders of political parties.

"An attempt at a putsch is still in power in Krajina. The military junta is stubbornly trying to remove legally elected representatives of the Serbian people or, through a marionette government elected in Borovo Selo (whose strings Slobodan Milosevic is really pulling), is striving to seize power in Krajina." This, among other things, was said by Dr. Milan Babic at yesterday's press conference held in the International Press Center in Belgrade. Dr. Babic explained that what is happening in Krajina is not well heard in Knin. Information media are blocked or misused. According to Dr. Babic, Serbian television, with its false information, is indoctrinating the people in those Serbian territories.

"At the proper time Slobodan Milosevic requested the Serbian people in Krajina to elect new people for their representatives in contacts with Serbia and the world. But, when the people turned a deaf ear, Milosevic performed that task himself. He organized a farcical meeting in Borovo Selo, proclaimed the assembly as the assembly of all the Serbian people, and formed a marionette government from the assembled people who are subordinate to him," said Dr. Babic, and cited two names as an illustration of such a government: Bosko Bojanic and Jovo Kablar.

Dr. Babic is amazed at how Bojanic can be the connection between the Serbian people and the United Nations when it is known that his brother is a high official in the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] of Croatia, which is headquartered in Zagreb. Dr. Babic cited as a sin of Jovo Kablar, newly elected vice president of the government, the fact that he "closely" cooperated with Racan's party right up to the very eruption of the war in Croatia.

According to Dr. Babic, with the formation of twofold power in Krajina, Slobodan Milosevic is attempting to implement his agreement with Franjo Tudjman—which was reached last year in Karadjordjevo—that Krajina remain as part of Croatia. "How else to interpret his involvement in the problems of Krajina, when it is known that we said publicly that we have not opposed Vance's plan (supposedly a stumbling block), since the UN Security Council adopted a good part of our requests," Dr. Babic said.

In yesterday's conversation with journalists, Dr. Babic, who continues to consider himself the legitimate president of the government of Serbian Krajina, said that he could give back to Milosevic "in equal measure," but that this is not his method of operating. Specifically, in the name of uniting all Serbs, Babic could request that the Assembly of all Serbians be held in Valjevo, where Serbs from the so-called Morava Serbia would be invited, as well as Serbs from Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Krajinas.... Amendments to the new Constitution of Serbia would be adopted at that large meeting, a new Serbian government would be elected, and, in the end, a new president of Serbia would be elected. "If someone had said that the government of Serbia was elected in a democratic and legal manner, I would reply that we also did the same thing in Krajina—we had multiparty elections and elected a government, we also held two referendums, and on the basis of all this we then constituted the Assembly of the SAO [Federal Autonomous Region] of Krajina," Dr. Babic added.

Yesterday Dr. Babic indicated he was fearful that there could be civil war in Krajina, since there are more and more policemen and military police who are arriving from Belgrade. It could happen, according to Dr. Babic, that UN peacekeeping forces would get into a situation where they are separating Serb from Serb, and not defending Serbs from other people.... Dr. Babic is also somewhat afraid of a possible blockade in payments exchanges, since Krajina is "tied" to the federal payments exchange that goes through Belgrade.

Turning to the most recent events in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dr. Babic said that the Serbian Democratic Party and its leader, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, have deceived the Serbian people in this former Yugoslav republic.

Dr. Babic commented on the news that the Krajina Bureau in Belgrade has been closed, but that anyone who wants to contact this bureau can continue to do so. "The bureau works, but that does not mean that someone will not try as early as tomorrow to put a lock on the door forcibly," Dr. Babic added.

Asked whether he would participate in the 9 March demonstrations, Dr. Babic said that he had not yet compiled a list of obligations and tasks for that day. But, he certainly knows that he will utilize the next day and the stay in Belgrade for meetings with some leaders of the political parties of Serbia.

Serbia

Karadzic Denies Existence of Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD1603134992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1217 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 16 (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the Serb Democratic Party (SDS), says there is no state of Bosnia-Hercegovina, there are three states which have not regulated their mutual relations and this should be done as soon as possible, at the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, he adds. In an interview carried by the Belgrade daily BORBA today, he goes on to say that Bosnia-Hercegovina has already been divided into three national states and that it is precisely known which territories are Croat, Serb or Muslim. "These regions and territories have been nationally defined and there is no problem about this", he emphasizes.

Elaborating his party's plan for the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina "which is subject to negotiation", Karadzic says that "a Serb Bosnia-Hercegovina would incorporate 87 per cent of all Serbs in the republic, six per cent of all Croats and 22 per cent of all Muslims" and that 12 per cent of Serbs would be left outside it. Under this plan, the vast majority of Serbs, Muslims and Croats would not be downgraded to a national minority status, he adds.

The guiding principle in the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina must be ethnical, and the nations in these territories will hold referendums, but the geographical principle will have to be observed too, says Karadzic.

Muslims account for 43.77 per cent of the overall population in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbs for 31.46 per cent and Croats for 17.34 per cent. The power in the republic is shared between three national parties - the Muslim Democratic Action Party (SDA), the SDS and the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ).

The fifth round of the conference on the future organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina started in the republican capital Sarajevo today under the sponsorhip of the European Community. Commenting on the way the work at the conference is being conducted, Karadzic says "we have nothing but praise for chairman Jose Cutileiro of portugal and his team", adding that "they are trying to understand the problem without imposing their solutions".

A Muslim-Croat coalition has applied to the E.C. for international recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina without obtaining consent of Serbs, which is contrary to the republican constitution. Four of the six Yugoslav republics have sought international recognition from the E.C. which has so far been granted only to Slovenia and Croatia. Bosnia-Hercegovina has been recognized by Iran, Turkey and Bulgaria.

Serbian Minister on Closure of Krajina Bureau

AU1603205292 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] We asked the Ministry for Links With Serbs Outside Serbia for an explanation for the temporary closure of the Belgrade bureau of the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Here is a statement by Slavko Vejinovic, assistant minister for links with Serbs outside Serbia:

[Begin Vejinovic recording] On the basis of a decision by the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and a request from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, on 14 March this year the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia sealed and took over the protection of the premises of the government's bureau. The ministry will protect the premises until the legitimate representatives of the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina start working. I believe that the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina will reopen the bureau very soon and the bureau will start working. [end recording]

Opposition Parties Condemn Krajina Bureau Raid

LD1603200492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1924 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 16 (TANJUG)—The Serbian Renewal Movement and the Democratic Party, the two strongest opposition parties in the Serbian Parliament, today protested against "the police raid of the office of the Republic of Serbian Krajina" (RSK) in Belgrade.

In its announcement, the Democratic Party assessed that the behavior of the Belgrade police "seriously discredited the legal order in Serbia." The Serbian renewal movement qualified the police raid as an "act of lawlessness."

The RSK office announced on the evening of March 14 that the Belgrade police "arrested" bureau secretary Zdenko Tosic and sealed up the premises. Tosic, a close

associate of former RSK president Milan Babic, was released the same evening and began a hunger strike, as the bureau announced.

The RSK assembly dismissed Babic on February 16. RSK was proclaimed on the Serbian territories within the administrative borders of breakaway Croatia. The RSK parliament elected Goran Hadzic the new RSK president on February 26. Babic, who does not acknowledge these decisions, last night requested of Serbian Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic to enable "his" Belgrade bureau to work normally. The Belgrade police still have not made any announcement about the case.

Slovenia

Diplomatic Relations Established With Macedonia

AU1703112392 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Presidency, and Foreign Minister Dr. Dimitrij Rupel will pay an official visit to Skopje today. With his host, Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov, Milan Kucan will primarily discuss the issue of Yugoslavia's legal succession and the situation in the Balkans. Minister Rupel will sign an agreement establishing diplomatic relations between the two states with the head of Macedonian diplomacy Stojan Andov.

Kucan Urges Discussions on Peace, Succession

LD1603194992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—At the 10th plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels, Slovenia has advocated its verified stance according to which the prime topic for discussion should be the securing of peace on the soil of former Yugoslavia and the question of succession, President of the Slovene presidency Milan Kucan said at today's session of the republic's Parliamentary Commission for Foreign Relations.

Apart from the conference, the separate talks with Lord Carrington and Cyrus Vance about Serbia's role and the succession issue, as well as those with President of the European Commission Jacques Delors about cooperation between Slovenia and the EC, have also been significant. Slovenia does not agree with the notion of Serbian Minister for Foreign Affairs Jovanovic that the debate on the SFRY's continutiy should be separated from that on succession, since Serbia maintains that the four republics have seceded. The debate on succession will be monitored by a high-ranking EC official, Kucan announced. Slovenia does not renounce its active role in resolving the Yugoslav crisis, Kucan added, and it also advocates the establishment of a zone of limited militarization, something that would help stabilize Central Europe. In Kucan's words, Slovenia insists on its proposal that Yugoslavia's assets be temporarily frozen, on the resolving of the question of the legitimacy of former Yugoslav federal organs, and also on establishing trade relations on the basis of GATT principles.